COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" But it is, nevertheless, to be feared, that the immediate wants of the ministers, the immediate pressure " of the times, may induce them to concede now, with the hope, perhaps, of undoing their concession " hereafter, upon the ground of its having been extorted from them. A vain hope, indeed! for the very " effect of the concession will be to prevent them from ever undoing the deed; and, moreover, as long as the " present system remains, the country would, by such concession (supposing it to extend to a relinquish- " ment of any part of our right of **search**), be disabled for the resisting of further encroachment. This, " one would think, they must **plainly** perceive; yet, if they should be persuaded, that a refusal to concede " will produce a diminution **in the source** of the taxes, I am greatly afraid, that, acting here, as they have " done every where else, upon the Pitt system of temporary expediency, they will concede.— Such are " my fears. If the event shall prove them groundless, no one will more heartily rejoice than myself, and " no one will be more ready to give praise unto those by whom the unjust demands of the American States " may have been resisted; but, in case of the realizing of these my fears, I shall not be backward in say- " ing all that I dare, under our present laws, to say, against every one, who may have participated in pluck- " ing this other, and almost the last, feather from the wings of my country. Under any circumstances, " however, under any laws, that do, or that may exist, I shall still have the power, and I am sure I shall " have the will, to bestow on them my hatred, and to treasure up in my heart the hope of seeing the day, " when the rest of my countrymen will think upon the subject as I do, and will have the power as well as " the inclination to act accordingly. The man who makes any part of his happiness to consist in promoting " the welfare of his country, should never give way to feelings of despair or of disgust; or, at any rate, he " should never permit those feelings so far to prevail as to deprive him of hope, or to check the operations " of his zeal. The man whose mind is fashioned for taking a share in those enterprizes, no matter of what " sort, that are connected with the fate of his country, will suffer no disappointments, no rebuffs, no acts " of folly or of wickedness, whether in the rulers or the people, to turn him aside from his pursuits. Such " a man, if, with all his exertions, he be unable to prevent evil from being done, instead of despairing will " see new hope of good even from the excess of evil; and, applying these observations to the case before " us, if, unhappily, our ministers, acting from the influence before described, were now to yield the most " valuable of our rights to the American States, we ought still not to despair, but to labour with more " assiduity than ever in the producing of a state of things, which would enable our country to recover those " rights, and to hold them without the chance of their being again surrendered by such men and from " such motives; we should labour with more eagerness and resolution than ever in the producing of a state " of things, which would, for a long time, at least, prevent the possibility of the recurrence of such a " surrender."——POLITICAL REGISTER, 20 Dec. 1806, Vol. X. p. 979.

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TO THE

INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XXII.

Gentlemen,

In resuming the subject of my last letter to you, I beg leave to remind you, that my reasons for using this mode of communicating my sentiments to the public, are, 1st, that, when addressing a body of persons of whose sound understanding one has an experimental proof, one is more likely to be cautious in stating, and correct in deducing; 2nd, that, having seen such striking proofs of your public-spirit, and having seen so little of that spirit elsewhere, I deem it a mark of respect justly your due, to appeal to you more particularly than to any other part of the nation; and, 3d, that I am fully persuaded, that, first or last, the opinions which *you* adopt and act upon, as to all matters whether foreign or domestic, will be adopted and acted upon by the whole of the people of this kingdom.

The writer of the Independent Whig, whose talents and whose **undaunted** courage is quite worthy of all the admiration they have excited, is, notwithstanding his talents, mistaken, as he very well may be, with respect to what he calls the *impolicy* of the conduct of our commanders upon the American station. He says, that it is absurd to apprehend any serious injury to our maritime power from permitting the Americans to inveigle away and detain our seamen; and, he asserts, that, for one British sailor that there is on board the ships of America, there are fifty Americans, and *others*, on board of British ships. This is an assertion calculated to give us a higher opinion of this writer's boldness than of his information upon the subject on which he is writing; for, the seamen on board the American ships amount to about 70,000, and, upon divers occasions, when I was in America, it was stated, and generally acknowledged, that one *fourth* part of the seamen on board of American ships, were subjects born of this country; and, as to foreigners on board of our ships, the number is comparatively trifling, and must be so, be-

cause our officers have so great a dislike to them. It is hinted, that desertion from our ships might be prevented by avoiding to impress men on board, and by treating the seamen better when on board. Now, though, upon any of the principles of a free government, the impressing of seamen cannot be fully defended, still it is a thing which has *always* existed in England; and, it follows, of course, that, when a man, or boy, first enters a coal or any other merchant ship, he is well aware of the *condition*, namely, that when the greater service of the country requires him, he is liable to be taken into that service. When a practice has existed for so many ages, under all descriptions of kings and queens, and under all political revolutions, it requires much thought upon the matter before it be held up to public execration. I will draw no comparison between the impressing of seamen and the ballot for the militia, the latter being evidently partial in the last degree; but, those who are the most strenuous advocates for the liberties of the people, are ready to acknowledge, and, indeed, to insist, that every *landsman*, capable of bearing arms, is, and ought to be, liable to be called forth in defence of the country, if need require; and, if this be just, what injustice is there in calling forth *seamen*, in cases of similar need? Nor will it, I think, be objected, that, in the latter case, the call operates *partially*; it applies to *all* seamen; and, observe, that, from all calls in defence by land, seamen are exempted; to which may be added this circumstance, that seamen, when impressed, are not taken from their homes, and put into a new and strange state of life; but are taken from one ship to be put into another, have the same sort of labour to perform, and the same sort of life to lead; whereas the landsman, called forth to bear arms, is taken from his home and his business, is exposed to hardships unfamiliar to him, and returns, in all probability, injured in his mind, body, or estate. As to the treatment of our sailors when on board, my belief is, that much improvement might be made; but, Gentlemen, be you assured, that, as long as confinement shall be irksome to man; as long as change of scene shall be delightful to him; as long as a hankering after recreation and an indulgence of his desires shall form the leading propensities of his mind, so long will seamen, to whatever country belonging, and however treated while on board, continue, occasionally, to desert, and especially when they can do it with certain impunity. Numerous, therefore, as the ships of America are; met with as they are in all the ports of the world, how could we possibly keep our seamen, unless we maintained and exercised the right of searching for them? *Theirs* we might have in return; but, theirs we do not want. We want to keep our own; we want to avoid confusion, a mixture of nations. Ships of *war*, indeed, the Americans have not many; but, if we admit the principle, that the *national flag* is to cover every thing, I will warrant it, that we shall soon see enough of the American national flags; and, as I before stated, we should see our own seamen, collected by the Americans, transferred to the service of France, by whom special care would be taken, that they should not again desert. This would, unquestionably, be the greatest evil that we could possibly experience; and this evil, unless we submitted to all the demands of America, however extravagant in themselves and however insolently urged, we should very soon have to encounter.

But, Gentlemen, this writer, feels, or, at least, he expresses, great alarm, lest the Americans should *shut their ports against our goods*, in which feeling he has for rivals those disinterested patriots and profound politicians, the merchants trading with America, whose Proclamation I will here insert for your perusal. It is dated from the American "CHAMBER OF COMMERCE" at Liverpool, August 11th, 1807. "At a general "and very numerous meeting of the mem- "bers of this *association* held this day, it "was resolved unanimously, that the following circular letter, prefixed by this "resolution, be printed, and that the vice- "president (in the absence of the president) be requested to sign the same, on "behalf of the American Chamber of "Commerce in Liverpool, and to transmit a "copy thereof to Philip Sansom, Esq. Chair- "man of the Committee of American Mer- "chants in London.——Resolved, that the "secretary do also furnish the several mem- "bers of this association with copies, to be "transmitted, as they in their discretion may "deem expedient, to their respective cor- "respondents in Great Britain and Ireland.

"(CIRCULAR.)——Sir,—A Meeting of "the Members of the American Cham- "ber of Commerce, at this port, has been "convened this day, for the purpose of "*taking into consideration* the present se- "rious and critical state of affairs, as rela- "ting to the intercourse between the Bri- "tish Empire and the United States of Am- "erica.—When it is considered *how es- "sentially the vital interests* of both the "countries are concerned in a maintain- "ance of the relations of amity and com-

" merce, and particularly at the present " juncture, it must be the wish of every " sincere friend to his country, whether " Briton or American, that these relations " should not be interrupted, unless such " interruption be rendered inevitable by " some imperious and *irresistible* necessity, " arising from that regard which it is in- " cumbent on every country to pay to its " honour and its interest.—If *the manu-* " *facturers and merchants of this kingdom* " *shall be convinced* that the conduct of the " British government towards the United " States of America has been and continues, " *such as becomes a government desirous of* " *preserving the relations of peace and ami-* " *ty*; and if it should now be found that " these relations cannot longer be pre- " served, without compromising the honour, " and thereby *sacrificing the best interests* " of the British empire, it is hoped there " are no sacrifices or privations to which the " manufacturers and merchants will not " cheerfully submit, in order to prevent " such consequences.——If, on the contra- " ry, the manufacturers and merchants of " this kingdom shall be convinced that the " intercourse, which has now subsisted for " more than twenty years, between the " British Empire and the United States of " America, with so many, and *such pro-* " *gressively increasing advantages* to each, is " in danger of being interrupted by an as- " sertion to claims, *incompatible with a due* " *regard to the* EQUAL RIGHTS of both " countries, or by unjust conduct on the " part either of the British government, or " of any persons acting under its authority, " it then becomes a duty to exercise that " invaluable privilege,—the essential bul- " wark of the British constitution,—of re- " spectfully making such representations to " the government as the circumstances of " the case may require.——And as these " circumstances may be such as to render it " highly important that the persons making " such representations should act *with* " *promptness, and in concert;*—I am re- " quested to inform you that, if such cir- " cumstances should arise, the Members of " the American Chamber of Commerce in " Liverpool hold themselves in readiness " *to correspond* and *co-operate* with the ma- " nufacturers and merchants of Great Bri- " tain and Ireland, for the attainment of " the important objects herein-mentioned. " I have the honour to be, Sir, your obe- " dient servant,—JOHN RICHARDSON, Vice " President."

Now, Gentlemen, though I do not deny, that Mr. John Richardson and the *Corresponding Society*, of which he is Vice President, have a perfect right to assemble and to invite others to " co-operate" with them in order to act with " *prompti-* " *tude*;" in endeavouring to obtain, *though contrary to the will of government*, the objects which they have in view; though I by no means deny them this right, I greatly fear, that, if *you* were to form a Corresponding Society, for the purpose of effecting, " by *promptness* and *concert*," an abolition of useless places and pensions, and for a restoration of the act passed in the reign of king William III. " for the better securing of the rights and liberties of the people;" if you were to form a Corresponding Society for this purpose, and were to do me the honour to make me " *Vice President*" of it, I greatly fear, that John Richardson and his Society would, to a man, vote for my being hanged, and your being transported; and yet, it is, I think, evident, that our right, in the case supposed, would be as clear as that of the " Chamber of Commerce" now is.

But, leaving this worst of all aristocracies to enjoy its day, and waiting patiently for the arrival of our day, let us examine a little, Gentlemen, into the grounds of the alarm, expressed by the Independent Whig and the Chamber of Commerce, at the probability of seeing the American ports *shut against our goods*.

Gentlemen, part of the wool (one article is enough, for the same reasoning applies to all), which grows upon the backs of sheep, which feed upon the grass, which grows upon the land of England, is made into cloth of various denominations, which cloth is made by English labour, and is afterwards sent to clothe the Americans. Now, does it appear to you, that it would do us any great injury, if the Americans were to refuse to wear this cloth; if they were to refuse to receive the benefit of so much of the produce of the soil and of the labour of our country? *They* must go naked and absolutely perish without this cloth; but, that I lay aside, for the present, as of no account. What injury would it *do us*, if they were to be able to prevent our woollens from entering their ports? Why, my assailant of the Independent Whig will say, perhaps, that such prevention would be the ruin of thousands; that it would break up our cloth manufactories, and produce starvation amongst the cloth makers. This sweeping way of describing is always resorted to in such cases; but, Gentlemen, though we actually clothe the Americans, they do not take off one *tenth* part of our cloth. And, supposing it possible for them effectually to put a stop to this

outlet, how would it injure us? The consequence would be, that cloth would be cheaper in England; the consequence of that would be, that wool would be cheaper; the consequence of that would be, that sheep would be less valuable; the consequence of that would be, that less of them would be raised. But, the feed which now goes to the keeping of part of our sheep, would go to the keeping of something else, and the labour now bestowed upon part of our woollen cloths, would be bestowed upon something else; in all probability upon the land, which *always* calls for labour, and which never fails to yield a grateful return.

There is, Gentlemen, as it were by preconcert, by regular system, a loud cry, upon all occasions, set up about our *loss of commerce*. Wars have been made, over and over again, for the sake of commerce; and, when the rights and honour of the nation are to be sacrificed by a peace, the regaining or preserving of commerce is invariably the plea. To hear these merchants and their ignorant partizans talk, one would almost suppose, that, if sincere in their expressions of alarm, they must look upon commerce as the sole source of our food and raiment, and even of the elements which are necessary to man's existence. Commerce, they tells us, is "essential to the *vital* interests" of the country. Who would not suppose, that commerce brought us our bread and our water. Gentlemen, to support commerce, the wars in Egypt were undertaken; the wars in India are carried on without ceasing; the war in South America, and in Africa are now undertaken. Oh! What English blood and English labour and English happiness and English honour has not this commerce cost! But, "without commerce "how are we to defray the expences "of government, and the interest of the "national debt?" This is a question that every frightened female puts to one; and, really, notwithstanding it is well known that England has been upon the decline of power ever since she became *decidedly* commercial, and that France has grown in power in the same proportion as her commerce has declined, 'till, at last, having lost *all* her commerce, she is become absolute mistress of the whole of the continent of Europe; notwithstanding this, the commercial tribe, with Pitt at their head, have so long and so impudently assumed, that it is commerce that "supports the na-"tion," that it is not to be wondered at, that a man who is foolish enough to have his all in the funds, should be alarmed, lest he should lose his dividends with the loss of commerce. The merchants would fain persuade us (perhaps they may really think so) that their goods and their ships pay the greater part of the taxes. "Look, here!" say they, pointing to their imports and exports. That is very fine, for a few hundreds of them; but what is it *to the whole of the nation?* "But," say they, "look "at the Custom-House duties." Yes, and *who pay* those duties? It is *we*, Gentlemen, who pay those duties. The payment comes out of *our labour*, and from no other source whatever. The people of America have been cajoled by this sort of doctrine. "We pay *no taxes*," says one of their boasting citizens, "*except* such as are imposed "upon *foreign* commodities." That is to say, except such as are imposed upon *Rum*, which is to them what beer is to us; *Sugar* and *Coffee*, of which, in part, the breakfast of every human creature in the country is composed; *Woollens and Linens and Cottons*, without which the people must go naked by day and be frost-bitten by night. But, what is the difference, Gentlemen, whether they pay a tax upon their coats, or whether they pay it upon their candles?

But, Gentlemen, bearing in mind, however, that *we* pay the custom-house duties, let us see what proportion those duties bear to the whole of the taxes raised upon us. The whole of the taxes, collected last year, amount to about 50 millions; the custom-house duties, exclusive of *coals*, and goods carried from one part of the kingdom to another, to about 5 millions! Supposing, therefore, that, if we did not pay these 5 millions in this way, we should not possess them, to pay in any other way, if called upon; supposing this, is there here any falling off to be alarmed at? Why, Gentlemen, the *Barley* alone of England, pays, in malt and in beer, more clear money into the Exchequer than all the shipping and all the foreign commerce put together; and, as to the revenue arising from the trade with America, it is less than what arises from the porter which you drink in the City of Westminster alone. The fact is, Gentlemen, that the means of supporting fleets and armies, the means of meeting all the squanderings that we witness, the means of paying the dividends at the bank, come out of the land of the country and the labour of its people. These are the sources, from which all those means proceed; and all that the merchants, and ministers like merchants, tell us about the resources of commerce, means merely this, that while we are sweating at every pore to pay the taxes, we

ought to believe, that the taxes are paid by others. I will tell you, Gentlemen, who would be injured by the shutting of the American ports against our goods. A *few great merchants and manufacturers*; and, observe it well, some hundreds of men, and some of those very great men, *who have their money in the American funds.* These, and these *alone*, be you well assured, would suffer any serious inconveniences from the shutting of the American ports; and these men are amongst the very worst enemies that the people of England have to overcome.

Nothing is more convenient for the purpose of a squandering, jobbing, corrupting, bribing minister, than a persuasion amongst the people, that it is from the *commerce*, and not from *their labour*, that the taxes come; and, it has long been a fashionable way of thinking, that, it is no matter how great the expenses are, so that the commerce does but keep pace with them in increase. Nothing can better suit such a minister and his minions than the propagation of opinions like these. But, Gentlemen, you have seen the commerce trippled since the fatal day, when Pitt became minister; and have you found, that *your* taxes have *not been increased?* The commerce has been trippled, and so have the *parish paupers.* Away, then, I beseech you, with this destructive delusion! See the thing in its true light. Look upon *all* the taxes as arising out of the land and the labour, and distrust either the head or the heart of the man who would cajole you with a notion of their arising from any other source.

But, Gentlemen, the much-talked-of and often-threatened non-importation act of America is a bug-bear fit only to frighten children and men of childish minds. Such an act was *passed* nearly two years ago; but, observe, it contained a tail clause, empowering the President to *suspend* its execution. The Congress has met twice since; the act has been *renewed*, but, still the *suspending* clause, that magic rag in the tooth of the serpent, has prevented its execution. Nay, in one case, by mistake, the term of suspension appears to have expired; but, though the act was for a few days *in force*, it was *not executed*; and had no more effect upon the importation of English goods, than if it had been one of the old ballads, of which you see such an abundance hung upon the walls at Hyde Park corner. Nor let it be imagined, that this arises from a reluctance to quarrel with us. I have before assigned the true cause. I have, in Volume X, page 971, &c. shewn *why* it is morally impossible, that, for any length of time, such an act should be executed in America, our goods, besides being *indispensably necessary* to the people of that country, being the source of much more than one half of the whole of its revenues. I then said, and I have since said, that, whether at war or at peace with us, they will have our goods and we shall have theirs; that, talk about the non-importation act as long as they please for the purpose of forming a combination amongst our merchants and manufacturers favourable to them, they can never put such an act in execution for any length of time; and that, therefore, our ministers would be amongst the most criminal of men, if, in yielding to such combinations, they gave up a single particle of our maritime rights.

The "Chamber of Commerce," this mercantile club, this new Corresponding Society, forces me back, for a moment, to the subject of *maritime rights.* These gentry, too, without any other learning than what they have picked up, in mere scraps, from the newspapers, talk about the "EQUAL "rights of *both countries*," thereby assuming, as a principle *admitted*, that America is equal with England as to all manner of rights upon the sea. It is truly said, Gentlemen, that, where the *treasure is*, there will the heart be also; but, as, comparatively speaking, very few Englishmen have treasure in America, so, I trust, that there will be very few of them who will be found to adopt the sentiments of the "Chamber "of Commerce," which, indeed, calls itself *American*, and which is, probably, composed of men, whose fortunes are principally lodged in that country. Men with *English* hearts, of whatever opinions respecting domestic matters, have never, until lately, suffered, in silence, any one to deny to their country a right of *sea dominion.* The dominion of the seas, even to the *opposite shores*, has, until of late, been distinctly claimed by all the kings and queens and rulers of England ever since our country has borne that name; and, our history shews, that those who have been most distinguished for their attachment to our domestic liberties, have been the most zealous in maintaining this sea-dominion. They were not frightened with the threats of France and of Holland (then great in maritime force) combined. They heard the solemn German quack authors and the flippant Frenchmen talk about the *law of nations*, and, as far as these related to the forms of treaties and the like, they paid attention to them. But, they scouted the idea,

that conquest constituted right of dominion upon land, where Englishmen could scarcely gain any conquests, and that there could be no such thing as dominion at sea, where alone, in all human probability, England could make conquests. They were told, I dare say, that their claim of sea-dominion was making might constitute right; but, they would readily answer, that experience and reason joined had taught them, that, *as to the affairs of nations*, it was might alone, in fact, that did constitute right; and, this they would avow without any fear of being thought the advocates of despotism. Upon various occasions, when I, for my part, have had to speak of the conquests of Buonaparté, I have always said, that he had, in all cases where not prohibited by a previous positive compact, to which he was a party, a right to make what conquests he pleased; and, that it was perfect childishness in us to rail against him for his conquering. He has now conquered the land of Europe. We have, long ago, conquered the seas. He may maintain his dominion, and we shall, I hope, always be able to maintain ours.

My friend of the Independent Whig, "if he will allow me to call him so" (as the people at St. Stephen's say), just as if he anticipated a sinecure office in over-setting every thing that I should be able to say upon the subject of our paramount rights upon the seas, has voluntarily undertaken a defence of the people of America against what he calls my "unmerited abuse of *the* "*whole* of them." I *abused* none of them; and it never entered into my heart to speak even slightingly of them as *a whole*. Upon all occasions, when I have spoken ill of the Americans, I have excepted, first and more particularly, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who, after all my experience, and I have now had not a little, I believe to be the, take the whole of their character and manners together, the best people in the world. Of the people in general, descending from the old settlers, to the Northward, I have always spoken with respect; and, if, generally speaking, I have had, and have, a very bad opinion of those to the Southward. I have always observed, that there were many exceptions there also. But, I have said, and this I say again, that, owing to the emigration of rogues and fraudulent debtors and sharping adventurers, from all parts of the world; and owing to the introduction of a system of impunity for moral offences, working in conjunction with about 300 news-papers, supported by advertisements and by the passions of those who feed upon falshood, America is, upon the whole, in my opinion, become the most unprincipled country in the world. I have said, that, as to affairs *between men and their families*, there is no shame or reproach attendant upon a breach of fidelity, on the part of man or of wife; and I have *proved* the frequency of elopements to be such, that the printers of even provincial papers, keep, cut in type-metal, the figures of a wife escaping from her husband's house, just as the printers of commercial papers keep the figures of ships, to place at the head of their ship advertisements. As to their *juries*, he who knows the *jurors* and the *parties*, must be very little gifted, if he be at a loss to know what will be the result. I have said, that, while I was in America, a *judge* was caught thieving in a shop; and, I have asked, what the people of England would say, if a similar act, on the part of a judge, was to pass with impunity here. I have said, that, in such a state of morals, there can be *no real public liberty*; and, that the fact is, that though the *name* is in great vogue, I would, if *compelled* to choose, rather be a subject of Napoleon than a citizen of America. My adversary (for, I am afraid, he wishes not to have me for a friend) says, that the Americans showed invincible courage, in a war for their liberties. I deny that the war was undertaken for their liberties; but, that, though the designs *here* might be unjust and tyrannical, the war there principally arose from the easy means which it offered to American debtors to cheat their English creditors. I never denied them *courage*. They are, I believe, as brave as any people in the world; but, as to their *justice* in that war, their battles were fought by those, who were paid in a paper called *certificates*. These certificates, for want of a law to give them value, were little, scarcely nothing, worth; but, when the speculators, who were also the leaders, had bought up the certificates at, perhaps, sixpence in the pound, these leaders made a law to tax the people, and to make the certificates worth 20 shillings in the pound! A whole tract of country I have known to be sold, by an act of assembly; the money received, and the law rescinded without any compensation to the purchasers. I have known a lottery made in virtue of an act of assembly, the act being published by authority in order to induce people to purchase the tickets, the tickets sold, the lottery drawn, and the holders of the money keep it and laugh at the holders of the prize tickets. Lest this should not be enough, I will give my friend

of the Independent Whig one specimen of the American *liberty of the press*, and that, too, not, as he will, probably, anticipate, in my own person, but in that of a man, who, about eleven years ago, left Scotland, in order to enjoy the liberty of a free press in America. This man published in Scotland a pamphlet called the *political progress of Britain*, for which he was obliged to flee, and which he re-published in America. While he wrote against his own *country* as well as its rulers, he was wonderfully caressed; but, it took him in the head to write against the rulers there also. What was the consequence? An action? No. An indictment? No. A criminal information? No. But, as a mere *prelude* to these, a warrant, under a tortured construction of a statute of Edward III. (for the American rulers preserve all these handy things by them) to take him up, *to bind him to keep the peace and be of good behaviour*, under a heavy bail; so that, this bond might have been kept over his head for years, without any conviction, or even any trial. The man remonstrated against this act of injustice; he refused to give bail; he was committed to prison, and in prison *he died*, a tolerably striking instance of the effect of the liberty of the press, as enjoyed in America.

Were I to proceed to the extent of my own bare recollection, this letter would surpass in bulk that of a letter of Lord Wellesley, who, quite unconcernedly, refers the court of Directors, in one letter, to the 735th paragraph of another letter, which he sends them by the same conveyance. I had no desire to say what I have said; but, when I see the persons, interested in the American commerce, combining together for the avowed object of forcing the government (which, if I am to judge from the past, is but too much inclined that way) to abandon the great protecting rights of our country; and when I see the views of this combination, aided by a public writer, who (for want of information, without doubt) holds forth America in false colours, and bespeaks your partiality towards her upon the score of her being the patroness and the guardian of liberty and of public virtue, I think, that to refrain from speaking would be a shameful neglect of my duty.

In conclusion, suffer me, Gentlemen, once more to press upon your minds the important distinction between the rights of *nations*, as considered with respect to other nations, and *individuals*, as considered with respect to other individuals of the same nation. In the latter case all ought to be upon a perfect level in the eye of the law. The law comes in to the aid of natural weakness. It says to the strong man, "you shall have "all the advantages which your own "strength can give you, as far as the em- "ployment of that strength does in nowise, "bear down those who are weaker than "you are." But, nations acknowledge *no law*; and, though there are men, who have written upon what they call *the law of nations*, their writings are merely the *opinions* of individuals, and the history of what this and that nation has, at different times, done. The fact is, that, in the concerns of nations, from the very nature of the thing, it must be, that power, in the end, under whatever shew of law or usage, will have its way. It does not hence follow, that it is just for a strong nation to oppress a weak one. The moral considerations of right and wrong are not to be left aside; but, the only check that can possibly be found to national ambition, accompanied with power wherewith to gratify it, is, the combination which, first or last, will naturally be formed against any nation, which uses its power for the purpose of oppressing other nations. The only question, therefore, for us to determine, in the present case, is, whether the exercise of those powers, which our real mastership of the seas enables us to exercise, be now exercised for the purposes of oppression, or of self-defence. I contend, that, in the particular case, which has given rise to this discussion, they have been exercised for the purposes of self-defence. There may return a state of things, when we may safely forego that exercise; and then it will be proper to do it; but, at the present time, all men, I should think, must be convinced, that, if England be not to become an appendage of France, she must maintain, with more rigour than ever, her rights of dominion upon the sea. For you, Gentlemen, to give your sanction to the abandonment of those rights, upon any ground, would be to falsify that patriotic character which you have so justly acquired; and, for you to do this upon the ground of favour due to those nations, who are set up as the *friends of liberty*, would expose your understandings to the contempt of the world. Much of our liberties, as Englishmen, has been lost. Let us, by all the lawful means within our power, continue our efforts to recover those liberties; and, if we resolutely and wisely and patiently proceed, recover them we shall, in spite of the swarms of prostituted hirelings and of public robbers, against whom we have to contend. But, Gentlemen, it is *English* liberty that we want. It is not

that conquest constituted right of dominion upon land, where Englishmen could scarcely gain any conquests, and that there could be no such thing as dominion at sea, where alone, in all human probability, England could make conquests. They were told, I dare say, that their claim of sea-dominion was making might constitute right; but, they would readily answer, that experience and reason joined had taught them, that, *as to the affairs of nations*, it was might alone, in fact, that did constitute right; and, this they would avow without any fear of being thought the advocates of despotism. Upon various occasions, when I, for my part, have had to speak of the conquests of Buonaparté, I have always said, that he had, in all cases where not prohibited by a previous positive compact, to which he was a party, a right to make what conquests he pleased; and, that it was perfect childishness in us to rail against him for his conquering. He has now conquered the land of Europe. We have, long ago, conquered the seas. He may maintain his dominion, and we shall, I hope, always be able to maintain ours.

My friend of the Independent Whig, "if he will allow me to call him so" (as the people at St. Stephen's say), just as if he anticipated a sinecure office in over-setting every thing that I should be able to say upon the subject of our paramount rights upon the seas, has voluntarily undertaken a defence of the people of America against what he calls my "unmerited abuse of *the* "*whole* of them." I *abused* none of them; and it never entered into my heart to speak even slightingly of them as *a whole*. Upon all occasions, when I have spoken ill of the Americans, I have excepted, first and more particularly, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who, after all my experience, and I have now had not a little, I believe to be the, take the whole of their character and manners together, the best people in the world. Of the people in general, descending from the old settlers, to the Northward, I have always spoken with respect; and, if, generally speaking, I have had, and have, a very bad opinion of those to the Southward. I have always observed, that there were many exceptions there also. But, I have said, and this I say again, that, owing to the emigration of rogues and fraudulent debtors and sharping adventurers, from all parts of the world; and owing to the introduction of a system of impunity for moral offences, working in conjunction with about 300 news-papers, supported by advertisements and by the passions of those who feed upon falshood, America is, upon the whole, in my opinion, become the most unprincipled country in the world. I have said, that, as to affairs *between men and their families*, there is no shame or reproach attendant upon a breach of fidelity, on the part of man or of wife; and I have *proved* the frequency of elopements to be such, that the printers of even provincial papers, keep, cut in type-metal, the figures of a wife escaping from her husband's house, just as the printers of commercial papers keep the figures of ships, to place at the head of their ship advertisements. As to their *juries*, he who knows the *jurors* and the *parties*, must be very little gifted, if he be at a loss to know what will be the result. I have said, that, while I was in America, a *judge* was caught thieving in a shop; and, I have asked, what the people of England would say, if a similar act, on the part of a judge, was to pass with impunity here. I have said, that, in such a state of morals, there can be *no real public liberty*; and, that the fact is, that though the *name* is in great vogue, I would, if *compelled* to choose, rather be a subject of Napoleon than a citizen of America. My adversary (for, I am afraid, he wishes not to have me for a friend) says, that the Americans showed invincible courage, in a war for their liberties. I deny that the war was undertaken for their liberties; but, that, though the designs *here* might be unjust and tyrannical, the war there principally arose from the easy means which it offered to American debtors to cheat their English creditors. I never denied them *courage*. They are, I believe, as brave as any people in the world; but, as to their *justice* in that war, their battles were fought by those, who were paid in a paper called *certificates*. These certificates, for want of a law to give them value, were little, scarcely nothing, worth; but, when the speculators, who were also the leaders, had bought up the certificates at, perhaps, sixpence in the pound, these leaders made a law to tax the people, and to make the certificates worth 20 shillings in the pound! A whole tract of country I have known to be sold, by an act of assembly; the money received, and the law rescinded without any compensation to the purchasers. I have known a lottery made in virtue of an act of assembly, the act being published by authority in order to induce people to purchase the tickets, the tickets sold, the lottery drawn, and the holders of the money keep it and laugh at the holders of the prize tickets. Lest this should not be enough, I will give my friend

of the Independent Whig one specimen of the American *liberty of the press*, and that, too, not, as he will, probably, anticipate, in my own person, but in that of a man, who, about eleven years ago, left Scotland, in order to enjoy the liberty of a free press in America. This man published in Scotland a pamphlet called the *political progress of Britain*, for which he was obliged to flee, and which he re-published in America. While he wrote against his own *country* as well as its rulers, he was wonderfully caressed; but, it took him in the head to write against the rulers there also. What was the consequence? An action? No. An indictment? No. A criminal information? No. But, as a mere *prelude* to these, a warrant, under a tortured construction of a statute of Edward III. (for the American rulers preserve all these handy things by them) to take him up, *to bind him to keep the peace and be of good behaviour*, under a heavy bail; so that, this bond might have been kept over his head for years, without any conviction, or even any trial. The man remonstrated against this act of injustice; he refused to give bail; he was committed to prison, and in prison *he died*, a tolerably striking instance of the effect of the liberty of the press, as enjoyed in America.

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French liberty nor American liberty. It is such liberty as our forefathers fought for and obtained. It is *freedom from oppression*, whether from tyrants great or petty; and this is such liberty as neither Frenchmen nor Americans have yet tasted of. It would behove you well to stand forward, at the present moment, and to make your voice heard, and through that voice the voice of the people of England, against the selfish mercantile combinations that are now forming for the purpose of sacrificing the honour and the security of our country to their paltry private interests. No small portion of the fruits of your labour has gone, and still goes, to the furnishing forth of armaments, the sole, and even the avowed object, of which is, to *support commerce*, that is to say, as, I think, I have proved to you, to furnish the means, whereby a few hundreds of men are made immensely rich, without adding, in any way whatever, to the national resources of security. And now, when a part, when one class of these men, perceive that their interests are likely to receive some injury by the assertion of our rights of sea-dominion, or superiority, they begin to combine, in order to force the, probably, too willing government, to abandon those rights, and, as a natural consequence, to punish the officers who have had the spirit to assert them. Against such a combination as this, it behoves you to raise your independent voice. *You* have no interests but those which are inseparable from the welfare of your country. These men have; and, amongst all those, whose aggrandizement have tended to oppress you, this description of persons stand pre-eminent, upon which ground alone, it appears to me, that they claim a right of dictating to the government. You should always bear in mind, that it was the commercial interest, that placed Pitt upon his throne of power, and enabled him to do all those things, of which you but too sorely feel the effects. Through all his career, they clang to him. He talked of no greatness but commercial greatness; he sacrificed every thing to the interests and the whimsies of commercial men; he was made for a counting-house himself, and he delighted in the society of merchants. His followers are in power, and there is but too much reason for us to expect, that they will tread in his steps; but, it is for *us* to put in our protest against this mercantile combination, and thereby to deprive the ministers of the pretence of having sacrificed our security in obedience to the voice of the people. I am, Gentlemen, your faithful friend, and obedient Servant,

Botley, 20th August. WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XXIII.

GENTLEMEN,

Thinking it proper to offer to the public some observations upon the question of PEACE, which is, at present much agitated, I have, for the reasons stated at the out-set of the preceding letter, thought it right to address those observations more particularly to you.

First, Gentlemen, let me beg of you to come to the consideration of questions of this sort with your minds divested, for the moment at least, of reflections upon the internal corruptions, of which we complain, and which, sooner or later, we shall be able to eradicate and annihilate, without exposing our country to subjugation, and ourselves and our children to the just contempt of the world. As I observed to you before, Gentlemen, the corruptors and the corrupted are not those, who would most suffer by the conquering of our country. They would easily accommodate themselves to the business of raising contributions upon us. Sycophants, be assured, are not nice, as you may probably have perceived, in the objects of their subserviency. The toasts, songs, and sentiments, which they have now in use, would suit very well, in a new state of things, with a mere change of names. It is the *profits* that they love, and not the patrons. They would, you would soon see, find many and most admirable reasons for throwing us into prison, or hanging us, if we expressed our discontent at the exactions of Napoleon. When a country is conquered, individual safety depends upon readiness in submission; and, it were folly in the extreme for us to suppose, that, in a race of slavery, the base wretches, whom we now hate, would not out-strip us. No, Gentlemen, a remedy for our evils is not to come from without. That, as well as the defence of our country, lie solely in our own hands.

The question of Peace has been much dwelt upon by the editor of the Morning Chronicle, in an article, which I shall presently insert for your perusal. But, I would first beg leave to observe, that, though, for the reasons, which I shall hereafter submit to you, I am of opinion, that, *at present*, there is no chance of our deriving benefit, of any sort, from peace, I am by no means an advocate for a war, grounded merely upon a hatred of Napoleon, and, above all, for a war carried on *now* for what has been called

the deliverance of Europe, and which "deliverance" Europe itself has not seemed to wish for, having, as I verily believe, very little reason to entertain such a wish. We should also guard our minds against the conclusion, that, because the wars, in which we have been recently engaged, have been conducted in so foolish a manner, and have produced such fatal consequences to all those, who became our allies; we must guard our minds against concluding, that war continued *now*, would be productive of similar effects; and, that peace would put an end to the evils which have arisen amongst us during war. Would peace put an end to, would it at all lessen, any of the abuses or corruptions, of which we complain? You must be satisfied that it would not now, any more than it did in 1802. On the contrary, finding our attention diverted, for a while, from these corruptions, the corruptors would take advantage thereof, and do against us that which they otherwise would not have attempted. Was the march of the heralds of peace and the illuminations and the drawing of Lauriston and the feasting of Otto; were these followed by any benefit *to us?* No; but the hirelings gathered new strength, and stoutly put forward "the *blessings* of peace" as the justifiable grounds of fresh plunder. Be assured, Gentlemen, that every thing tends to deception, which would make you believe, that a remedy for the evils of England is to be found any where else than in an annihilation of the various sources of corruption.

The *pacific* article, in the Morning Chronicle, of which I have spoken above, and which I find in that paper of the 15th instant, is, as you will perceive, a commentary upon the king's speech, delivered, last week, to the Houses of Parliament.——"Parliament was yesterday prorogued, and the "Speech delivered by the Commissioners "in his Majesty's name, will be found in "another part of our paper.——It was ex"pected that the Speech would have made "some allusion to the proffered mediation "of Russia, but there is nothing except the "customary general paragraph, taken from "the file, about readiness to treat with ho"nour and security. It says—"And while "his Majesty commands us to repeat the "assurances of his constant readiness to en"tertain any proposals that may lead to a "secure and honourable peace, he com"mands us at the same time to express his "confidence that his parliament and his "people will feel with him the necessity of "persevering in those vigorous efforts which "alone can give the character of honour to "any negociation, or the prospect of secu"rity or permanency to any peace."—— "There is one paragraph which appears to "admit the probability rather of a hostile "confederacy than of a negociation. His "Majesty trusts that his parliament will be "ready to support him "to maintain "against any undue pretensions, and against "any hostile confederacy, those just rights "which his Majesty is always desirous to "exercise with temper and moderation; "but which, as essential to the honour of "his crown, and true interests of his peo"ple, he is determined never to surrender." "This paragraph goes farther than anything "we have yet seen or heard, to accredit the "rumour that the Emperor of Russia was "likely to join Buonaparté in the assertion "of claims, inconsistent with the Naval "Code which this country has always as"serted as the true doctrine of the Law of "Nations. It may be supposed to refer to "America, perhaps, but in that case the "phrase of a hostile confederacy would not "apply. It is more probable, therefore, "that ministers have received information "which leads them to believe that the Em"peror of Russia may support the new prin"ciples which Buonaparté endeavours to "introduce. There is no particular allusion "to the state of our relations with Ameri"ca.——Upon the whole, this Speech does "not hold forth any thing VERY ENCOU"RAGING to the country. The general"ity in which the desire of peace is couch"ed, leaves no room to doubt that ministers "persist in the extravagant opinions of those "who *represent negociation as disgrace, and* "*peace as destruction.* Those, indeed, who "consider *peace as an evil*, naturally consider "negociation as disgraceful; because it "must be presumed, that they who would "make war if they could, only talk of peace "because they cannot. The sentiments of "most of the present ministers have been "*so often expressed on this subject*, that if "they are reduced to negociation, it is a "confession that they are practically con"vinced that the war has no rational object, "and no chance of success. Those who "have held such lofty language on the sub"ject of peace, indeed, can be supposed to "look to peace either as necessary to the "country, or must be suspected of resorting "to negociation only as an expedient to pro"cure new arguments and resources for "carrying on the war. We therefore can"not consider the paragraph alluding to "peace as conveying any assurance even of "the disposition of ministers to negociate. "But far less do we consider it any pledge

" that they have abandoned those frantic ex-
" pectations, so inconsistent with the state
" of the world, which, while they prevail,
" must render the attainment of peace im-
" possible. War may be necessary, if we
" cannot get out of it upon suitable terms,
" and in that case it must be carried on
" with courage and fortitude. But minis-
" ters seem to consider it as itself an active
" remedy, instead of an evil to be endured,
" and think it calculated to improve our si-
" tuation. In that view of it we cannot
" concur. *The most we can gain by its con-*
" *tinuance is, that after much exertion and*
" *vast expence, we are not swallowed up.*
" To reduce the power of our enemy by a
" maritime war, is now the most hopeless
" of projects, and after so much experience,
" those who still think it reasonable, are in-
" capable of being taught, either by argu-
" ments or by facts. Then what is gained
" by a protracted war, in which, let it be
" granted that we *keep all we have?* Is
" France, in her present situation, likely to
" be sooner or more exhausted by a length-
" ened war, than England? Is the ruler of
" that country likely to be affected by com-
" mercial pressure, could we inflict it in its
" utmost extremity; or even by an univer-
" sal blockade, were it practicable? He
" cares for none of these things, and will
" never yield upon such considerations as
" are calculated only to influence those who
" see all things through the medium of
" trade. We apprehend, therefore, that af-
" ter the lapse of several years, and the fa-
" vourable supposition of keeping all we
" have, we shall have, in the comparison,
" lost much more than France; and that
" even during the interval, we are not likely
" to bear with patience *the privations and*
" *burdens which the war must occasion.* A
" defensive war, therefore, is the worst of
" evils, because it does not even promise,
" what is the greatest incentive to military
" effort, as well as the greatest consolation
" in passive suffering, that at the expiration
" of any given time, or after any series of
" exertions, we shall be better than we are at
" this moment. Time may inspire us with that
" moderation of temper, and with that re-
" signation in that unfortunate order of
" things which Europe is destined to endure
" for a season; but it were better that
" wisdom should now *save us the distress*
" of being schooled by adversity. The pow-
" er and predominance of Bonaparte
" are, unquestionably, a great evil; and it
" is impossible that England should not,
" though herself unsubdued, feel some
" share of the calamity which has spread
" all around her. To that, however, she
" must submit.—She has not the means of
" *redressing the injustice of fortune, and*
" *of building up the ruins of prostrate na-*
" *tions.* She aims at something far beyond
" her real means. When circumstances
" are so changed, she seems to act as if
" France were that very France with which
" we used to negociate, with a certain
" consciousness of superiority.—That feel-
" ing, the people in a situation new and
" extraordinary, are desirous to cultivate
" and to act upon, however unseasonable
" it must appear. After the enormous
" success of France, and while she still
" possesses the resources and abilities with
" which that success was obtained, it is
" not reasonable for us to suppose that our
" success, comparatively limited in its
" nature and unimportant in its effects,
" can counterbalance the enormous aggran-
" disement of our rival. We do not say
" that we are subdued or hnmbled by
" France, but we say that France has ob-
" tained, for a time at least, the ascendant
" in the affairs of Europe; and we say too,
" that all the efforts of England cannot in
" the least impair that ascendant—and
" therefore it is our policy to *yield to that*
" *turn of affairs which we cannot change.*
" It rarely has happened that an intire equa-
" lity among the Nations of Europe has
" existed. The house of Austria, Spain,
" France, in former times, and likewise
" England, have had a decisive and admitted
" superiority. It is in vain to struggle
" against the occasional fortune, ability,
" and success of particular nations, found-
" ed on various accidents in their internal
" situation. It is laudable to resist the ten-
" dency towards inequality, and to reduce
" the pretension, in any shape, to univer-
" sal monarchy. But that resistance must
" be bounded by reason and by prudence.
" In the present case France has obtained
" a decisive superiority in Europe, and
" experience has shewn how vain it is at
" this time to attempt by force of arms *to*
" *reduce hnr* to what it is desirable she
" should be. We ought, therefore, *with*
" *the rest of the world,* to acquiesce in the
" decision obtained by an appeal to arms,
" which there is no probability of our be-
" ing able to reverse. France must have
" great advantages, in consequence of her
" success, but that is no argument against
" peace when war is not likely to *deprive her*
" *of those advantages.* We may negociate on
" the footing of equality with France; but
" however unpalatable the admission is, we
" must admit, *that France is relatively grea-*

" *ter, and England, relatively less, than* " *perhaps upon any former occasion when* " *they negociate.* It is foolish to deny " this, and more foolish still to act as if it " were not so. As this elevation of France " has risen from a concurrence of singular " events, it may not be permanent, but at " any rate we cannot by our single efforts " overturn the results of such long, and " bloody, and decisive wars on the conti- " nent. Then what do we fight for, when " *in all probability* every thing which *rea-* " *sonable men* can hope for, in the present " *disordered state of the world,* may be at- " tained by peace? We answer, that we " fight, first because our pride is unwilling " to acknowledge France, in her present " state of aggrandisement, or to recognize " the detested Bonaparte and his innovations; " secondly, our mercantile men are afraid that " our trade may suffer by a peace, particularly " they think it is quite easy at once to fight us " with all the world, and at the same time " serve them with goods, thus making them " pay us for beating them; thirdly, there " is a vague apprehension, that Bonaparte " only wishes to make peace in order to " devour us. Upon these and similar " grounds ministers and their partisans re- " present peace as an evil to be deprecated, " and therefore deem it true policy to use " every means not to promote, but to pre- " vent it. But the evils of peace form a " copious subject of discussion which we " have not time at present to pursue."

You will perceive, Gentleman, that the chief object of this writer is, not to obtain peace, but to persuade his readers, that the faction in power are pre-determined against peace, thereby hoping to produce such a feeling against them as may tend to the ousting of them, and the placing of his own faction in their stead. The burthen of his observations always is, the unfortunate, or perverse, or foolish, or mad, or wicked disposition of his opponents, or, rather, the opponents of his patrons. Of a writer who betrays such evident marks of mere party, mere factious, motives, we should always entertain great suspicions.

As to the question of peace, what may be the disposition of the present ministers I cannot positively assert; but, I should suppose, that the first consideration with them, as it was with Pitt and the Addingtons and the Whigs, will be to keep their places; and that, if they find peace likely to tend to that purpose, peace they will make, and, as the Addingtons did, call upon us for blessings upon their heads for the boon. But, this I know, that, whatever views they may have in carrying on the war, they cannot be more barefacedly regardless of the interests of England, than were the openly-avowed views of the Whigs, when they set us to war with Prussia for the purpose of *obtaining the restoration of Hanover.* This writer asks what we can now continue the war for; but, reserving our answer to that question, let me ask him how it is possible for the present ministers to entertain views more unworthy of Englishmen, than those openly avowed by Mr. Fox, when he declared, in parliament, that he never felt so much pleasure at any moment of his life, as when the king commanded him to write the dispatch, in which it was declared, *that the king would never make any peace, which should not stipulate for the complete restoration of Hanover to him.* This was the Whig object, not for carrying on a war, but for beginning a new war, which war, you will remember, was the chief immediate cause of all that followed upon the continent of Europe.

It is the way of those, who wish to mislead, to assume, that those who differ from them must necessarily entertain the views, which it suits their arguments to impute to them. Accordingly, those who, like me, can see no benefit that we should derive from a peace, made at this time, are by this writer, represented as aiming, by a maritine war, at " building up the ruined fortunes of the " nations of Europe;" at " reducing the " power of France" by land; objects at which no man in his senses would, at this time, aim, nor do I know that it would be desirable to accomplish those objects, even if the accomplishment were completely in our power; for, I have an ugly lurking in my mind, that, if the Prussians and Russians had beaten Napoleon, things would not have been the better for such people as you and I, which lurking has, I must confess, operated as a consolation to me, when I have read of the battles in Prussia and in Poland.

But, though I am very willing to leave the Germans (aye, *all* of them) to the rule of the Emperor of France and his brethren, I can discover a very sufficient object in continuing the war, at present, especially as it may now be a war attended with, comparatively, very little expence, taking it for granted, that no more continental expeditions or subsidies can now be thought of. The Morning Chronicle anticipates, as I anticipated months and months ago; that a *maritime confederacy* is forming against us in the North of Europe. How does he think, that this confedracy is to be got rid of? or, does he wish us to " yield to the turn of affairs," and, " with the rest of the world, acquiesce"

(good gentleman!) "in the decision obtain-"ed by an appeal to arms?" How, otherwise, I ask him, is this confederacy to be got rid of, except by a prosecution of the war? Would he really counsel us to yield to terms settled upon the principle of what is called the "*liberty of the Seas?*" Pitt and Addington gave up, as far as they could give up, the honour of the flag, which honour had been maintained by England from the time that flags were first seen upon the European seas; and, would this gentleman advise us, not only to ratify that shameful abandonment, but also bind ourselves not to exercise the right of search, a right, which, it must, I think, be evident to all men, upon the exercise of which our maritime superiority depends?

Here, then, is of itself, a quite sufficient object; but, I am of opinion, that a war even now properly managed, would, in a great measure, deprive France of the advantages, she expects from her conquests; and, would effectually deprive her of the advantages, which she would, without war, employ for the subjugation of this country. Without a considerable maritime force, she never can effect that object, an object which, I think, every one is persuaded her ruler has in view; and, by war, judiciously conducted, upon the avowed principle of maritime dominion, we have it in our power to destroy, for half a century, the means of his obtaining that force. Not a ship, belonging to any power, should be suffered to pass but upon conditions prescribed by us. Every sail upon the sea should, as in former times, be obedient to the Admiralty of England. The continent Napoleon might rule at his pleasure; but, the moment any one quitted the land, he should be under the dominion of England. These principles I would openly avow as the only principles upon which I would settle terms of peace; and the right of sea-dominion I would exercise in peace as well as in war, or I would make no peace with the ruler of the land of Europe. Now, is this object to be attained, without a further continuation of the war? Will Napoleon listen to such terms of peace? How, then, are we to obtain peace without; how are we to "obtain every thing which we can "hope for, in the present disordered state "of the world?"

But, "are we *never* to have peace?" To which I answer, you must put that question to France. It is not our fault if we have not peace, any more than it is the fault of the man who is assaulted, that he is engaged in a scuffle. France openly avows the design of conquering our country, and her preparations keep due pace with her avowal. It is, then, unreasonable in the extreme to put a question, conveying a reproach upon us, that we do not seem disposed to put an end to the war. I would, at all times, be ready to negociate. I would discover no hatred of Napoleon or his brethren. I would readily give up all the islands and colonies that I had conquered. But, I would distinctly maintain the right of dominion upon the sea; and that right I would so exercise, in peace as well as in war, as to be able, at all times, to say to the people, "there are not, in all Europe, the "means of sending forth a fleet against "you."

These being my opinions, I cannot but approve of the expedition, which is said to have been undertaken in order to seize upon the Danish fleet and arsenals, which, if not actually taken possession of by the conqueror, are, as all the world knows, within a few days' march of his reach. It is a vile mockery, it is hypocrisy, or it is mere party cavilling, to pretend, that Denmark can remain, at the present time, in a state of *neutrality*. Her naval force and means, whatever they may be, must be employed against, if not seized upon by us; and, it must, I think, be evident, that the only means of reducing the conqueror to listen to such terms of peace, as would give us security from his arms, are the seizing upon or the destroying of all the maritime resources within his reach, and the preventing of those resources from being recruited. It is painful to have recourse to such violent means; but, between that and subjugation we have no choice; and, when this is the case, I am persuaded, that there are very few Englishmen who would not prefer the former.

But, gentlemen, I do greatly fear, that this appearance of vigour is but for a day; and, I should not be surprized, if it should finally appear, that *Hanover* will be thought a sufficient compensation for the expense of these expeditions and for England's maritime dominion into the bargain. My fears may be groundless, and I hope they are; but, I cannot help entertaining them; and, certain I am, that such sentiments as those now inculcated by the Morning Chronicle, are admirably calculated to prepare a justification for such a peace. In fact, gentlemen, there is nothing that the ministers, if their views are such as I fear they are, could desire more to their purpose than the humble, despairing tone of the Morning Chronicle. It was upon the language of this very paper, that the Addington's justified their peace. They threw the blame

upon *the people*; and, lest the present ministers should do the same, the people should make them know, that they desire no peace without security.

That you, the independent electors of Westminster, may, above all other men, reflect seriously and conclude rightly upon these important subjects is almost the first wish of

Your faithful friend,
and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Aug. 20, 1807.

ENGLAND'S RIGHT OF SEARCH.

SIR,——I cannot resist expressing to you the pleasure I felt as an Englishman, in reading your last paper upon the subject of the present dispute with America.——You have argued the case well, and I perceive intirely from your own excellent understanding; but give me leave to inform you, Sir, of what you need not be ashamed to be ignorant, that the vrey case now before us has happened over and over again in our history: that it has been argued and most solemnly argued by great lawyers and statesmen, and that cases precisely in point have been decided in a formal and judicial manner upon grave argument and great consideration; and that the decision has always been as you contend it ought to be The orders to our admirals, from the earliest period of our maritime greatness, have been in conformity to this our ever asserted right, and the orders in the time of Oliver Cromwell, from a book of whose time, you have most appropriately taken your last motto, are stronger in point of expression, as they were more determined in point of action, than the orders in any other period of our history.——Sir, if the councils of this nation had among them a mind like his, whom I have just mentioned, with the same regard to our internal prosperity, and to our foreign and naval greatness, we might laugh at the dangers with which we are threatened, and even at Buonaparté himself, who is become, as you feared and predicted, *Hannibal* again —" His Martello " Towers are his allies—Crowns and Sceptters are the pallisadoes of his intrench" ments, and Kings are his centinels."—— Go on, Sir, and fearlessly maintain the glory and greatness of this our country abroad, and as fearlessly expose her shameful, but thank God, curable sickliness at home.

A TRUE ENGLISHMAN.

London, August 17, 1807.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

The Committee for conducting the late unparalleled Election for Westminster, having determined to present to Sir Francis Burdett the Car, Banners, and Flags, used during the Election and Procession, the following Letter was transmitted to him; dated Committee Room, Britannia Coffee House, July 4, 1807.

SIR;——After the almost unexampled victory obtained by the Electors of Westminster in favour of the people, they can no where so properly deposit the memorials of their triumph as in your hands. The committee have, therefore, to request that you will accept them.——The Car and Banners used at the celebration of an event of so much importance to the country, the memory of which will descend to our posterity, cannot fail to remind you of the great public principles by which it was produced.—The Factions which have been so long contending for the government had both been tried. Each, in its turn, had oppressed, plundered, and disgusted, the people. The virtues, both private and public, for which your character was revered, pointed out to the Electors of Westminster the man whom they should call to their aid. The name of " Burdett" was pronounced, and " Burdett and our Country" resounded from every part of this great city. " 5134" Electors came forward, and secured, by an unparalleled " majority," " the triumph of Westminster" over the associated panders of venality and tools of corruption. " You were called from the retirement you had chosen," and returned with the utmost " Purity of Election," to advocate the cause of your country, as their representative in the senate.—You are sent to express " the Sense of the People," and to lend your best assistance to restore to them those inestimable blessings of " the Constitution," of which they have been deprived by a long series of fraud and hypocrisy: to restore to them " a full, fair, and free, representation in Parliament," and the use of trial by jury in all cases whatever. In short, to assist in restoring to them that constitution which their ancestors did not think dearly purchased with their blood.—The Car and Banners must remind you, at all times, of those great public principles, to support which you stand pledged to the country. They will animate you to your duty. You will perform it. And if the perishable materials, of which they are composed, permit them to be preserved beyond the period of your own existence, your children will look upon them with reverence and affection, as the highest honour they derive from their

ancestor. But were you to fail, they would remain a constant reproach upon your conduct, and your children would justly consider them the greatest blot in their escutcheon.——By order of the Committee,——(Signed) SAMUEL BROOKS, Chairman.—*To Sir F. Burdett, Bart. M. P. for Westminster.*

ANSWER.

Wimbledon, July 7, 1807.

SIR,——I shall receive with pleasure and gratitude those memorials of the patriotism, spirit, and independence, of the Electors of Westminster, which the Committee propose to deposit in my hands. Amongst them, your excellent letter will not, in my humble opinion, be the least useful or the least esteemed. They will, I hope, not only serve to remind me and my children of the great duties all men owe their country, but also help to revive the ancient love of liberty in the heart of every Englishman, his children, and latest posterity.——I remain, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,——FRANCIS BURDETT.

Mr. Samuel Brooks.

The following ACCOUNT of the EXPENCES of the late Election for Westminster, is taken from a small pamphlet just published, by order of the Committee, entitled "An Exposition of the Circumstances which gave rise to the Election of Sir F. Burdett, Bart. for the City of Westminster."

ACCOUNT OF DISBURSEMENTS AND RECEIPTS.

Expences of the Election, up to the final close of the Poll, 23d May:

Advertisements, Printing, and Bill-Stickers	£317	12	6
Stationary, Check Clerks, and Messengers	156	1	0
Committee Rooms, Clerks, and Candles	130	6	6
Flags, Drums, Fifes, Bugles, and other Music	75	19	1
Coach Hire, and Incidental Expences	23	9	6
High Constable's Charges, & extra Constables	77	5	9
		780	14	4

Expenses after the close of the Poll.

Procession, &c. on 23d May	69	17	8
Printing 10,000 Resolutions of the Committee, dated 23d May, and delivering a Copy to each Elector ("5134") who voted for Sir Francis Burdett, and other printing	48	12	0
		118	9	8
Expenses of Chairing Sir F. Burdett, and celebrating the Triumph of Westminster, 29th June.			
Advertisements, Printing, & Bill Stickers	55	11	0
Carried over		£899	4	0

Brought over		£899	4	0
Messengers since the Election to this day	6	9	6	
Committee Room, Candles and Stationary	13	3	5	
Flags, Banners, Music, Flagbearers and Constables	121	14	0	
The Car, Horses, Grooms, Attendants and Dresses	122	6	0	
Ribbons for the Horses, Attendants, Flagbearers and Musicians	20	11	4	
Incidental Expenses attending Procession and Dinner	26	2	3	
		365	18	0
Fees and Gratuities paid at the House of Commons, preparatory to Sir Francis Burdett taking his seat	6	0	6	
Repairing the Car, and Expenses on presenting it and the Colours to Sir F. Burdett	25	0	0	
		31	0	6
Total Expenditure		£1296	2	6
Amount of Subscriptions received by the Treasurer to the 7th August		1215	14	3
Balance due to the Treasurer		£ 80	3	3

SAMUEL BROOKS, Treasurer.

Audited, W. ADAMS. FRANCIS PLACE.

FIRST REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE. *Presented to the House of Commons, July 22d. 1807.*

PAY-OFFICE.

THE COMMITTEE, appointed to examine and consider what Regulations and Checks have been established, in order to control the several branches of THE PUBLIC EXPENDITURE in Great Britain and Ireland; and how far the same have been effectual; and what further Measures can be adopted for reducing any part of the said expenditure, or diminishing the Amount of Salaries and Emoluments, without Detriment to THE PUBLIC SERVICE;

Having had referred to their consideration the proceedings of the committee which was instituted for the same purposes in the last parliament, began their inquiries, by prosecuting the examination of a subject, in which considerable progress had been made, but upon which they have delayed making an earlier report, judging it proper to suspend any statement of facts, until they could at the same time recommend the best mode, according to their judgement, of preventing similar abuses in future. The evidence received during the last session, contains an account of two transactions in the Pay Office, of a most irregular, and improper kind, which were disclosed on the examination of

Mr. Thomas, accountant in that office; by whom it was stated, that a draft for £7,000. payable to the right honourable Thomas Steele, (at that time one of the Joint Paymasters) or Bearer, had been drawn by the cashier on the 11th May 1799, under the head of Extraordinaries of the Army, and entered in the cash account of the office, with Mr. Steele's receipt as a voucher; and that another sum of £12,800 was drawn for, precisely in the same manner, and a receipt given in the same terms, on the 3d of July 1800. Of these two sums, the first was not repaid until the 3d of February 1807; nor the latter until the 9th of April, with interest upon both sums, from the date of their issue to that of their repayment, amounting to £7,390. 13*s*. The correspondence between Mr. Steele and Mr. Thomas; letters of Earl Temple, (one of the Joint Paymasters in 1807) addressed to Lord Grenville, Mr. Steele, Mr. Rose, and Lord Harrowby; three minutes of the Lords of the Treasury, directing what steps should be taken for securing the sum remaining due (for the first sum had been repaid previous to any proceedings of the Board of Treasury); Minutes of the Paymaster General entered in the book of the office; and several other papers, are inserted at length in the Appendix, though not perhaps absolutely necessary for understanding the subject, that no circumstance which has reference to this business, may be withheld from observation. But the part to which the committee think it most material to direct the attention of the house, is the account given by Mr. Steele himself, when he desired to attend the former committee on the 26th of March 1807, and made his own statement of the circumstances relating to these transactions. He said, "the two sums mentioned by Mr. Thomas were issued by my direction, and I have no hesitation in stating that they were not issued for public service; I thought, as others did at the time, that I had full authority to direct those issues. I was urged to do so by private considerations of a very peculiar nature, which operated at that time upon my mind; and I thought that by directing them to be issued to myself, and making myself responsible for them, I could not by possibility incur the suspicion of concealment, or fraud. It was my intention that they should have been replaced in a very short time, but it was not in my power to accomplish it; they remained charged against me in the Pay Office Book till the beginning of the present year, when the former of the two sums was repaid; and the whole subject having been brought lately under the consideration of the Board of Treasury, they have directed me to repay the remaining sum, with the interest due upon both sums, by instalments at stated periods, which I have engaged to do. I cannot take upon myself to defend my conduct in this instance, which I must admit to have been incorrect, but I console myself with thinking that the public will have suffered no loss." And being asked, whether he knew of any other transaction of the same kind, during the time he was in the Pay Office? He said, "I do not." And being asked, whether he knew of any arrear of the like nature arising from the transaction of any former Paymaster? He said, "I certainly do not." And being asked, whether any notice was taken of this transaction by the Treasury, previous to the beginning of this year? He said, "I apprehend it was not ever known to the Treasury, previous to this year." And being asked, whether any notice was taken by any other Public Office? He said, "Not to my knowledge." — On the 13th April, Mr. Steele again attended the committee; and a part of Lord Temple's letters being read to him (Appendix, No. 3,), and he being asked, whether he had any explanation to give in reference to this letter? he said, "This being a statement of what passed in different conversations at different times, of which, I made no memorandum myself, I certainly am not disposed to dispute the accuracy with which it is reported. I beg the committee at the same time to understand that I never have attempted to justify the issue of the two sums in question, upon the ground that they were applied directly or indirectly to public service; but that in my former evidence I acknowledged that they were not issued with any reference to public service, but I alone was responsible and accountable for them; and that I have, in fact repaid them both, principal and interest." And a part of Mr. Steele's former examination, and an extract from his letter to Mr. Thomas, being shown to him, he further said, "The persons to whom I alluded in that letter and in my examination, were the principal officers of the Pay Office, who had long been established there, and who uniformly contended that the power of the Pay-Master General to direct the issues of money from the Bank remained unlimited by any of the provisions of the Act for regulating the Office of Paymaster General." And being asked, "Did you consult any other person as to the operation of that Act, upon the issue of money to the Pay-

master?" he said, "I did not." And being asked, Whether in point of fact, in any part of this transaction, he acted upon the opinions of any other persons, conjointly with his own, or consulted any other person on the subject? he said, "No."—The conduct of Mr. Rose, who succeeded Mr. Steele in the Pay Office, being observed upon, in a minute of the Paymaster, dated 27th February 1807, Mr. Rose attended the committee, for the purpose of explaining the knowledge he had of this transaction; and he stated, that the facts relating to the two sums issued to Mr. Steele were communicated to him on the 10th February, 1806, by Mr. Bradshaw, in the presence of Mr. Harmood and Mr. Thomas; but that, as he considered himself completely out of office at that time, he could not interfere officially, nor apply any possible remedy; that he had, however, desired Mr. Thomas to write to Mr. Steele, that he might insure his seeing him, and to let him (Mr. Rose) know, whether any interposition of his, with Mr. Steele, would be necessary; that he had also a personal interview with Mr. Steele, and afterwards wrote a letter to him, enforcing what he had recommended in conversation; the answer to which led him to rest satisfied that the whole matter would be communicated, without delay, to Lord Grenville, or the Paymaster General.—As no entry was made of these two sums in the Extraordinaries of the Army presented to Parliament, it became an object of inquiry, for what reason they were not included; to which Mr. Wood, Deputy Cashier in the Pay Office, answered, that they were omitted by the express order of Mr. Steele; and upon being further examined, he said, that other sums had also been omitted in a former year (1797) by Mr. Steele's direction, which had been advanced to Mr. Carey, Pratburnon, and Bryan; adding, that without such particular direction he should have thought it his duty to include all those sums. In one of Mr. Steele's letters it is to be observed, that the reason which he assigns for this omission is, "that the sums so issued, being intended to "be replaced at an earlier period, could not "with propriety have formed part of the "army extraordinaries." If such has been the rule of that office in making up the account of extraordinaries, and if it has been also usual that all sums so issued, if replaced before the delivery of the accounts to the auditors, should not appear at all in those accounts, your committee judge both these practices highly improper to be continued, because they tend to keep back from the house, in the first instance, and finally from the auditors, the full knowledge of the disposal of the public money, and to facilitate the temporary application of sums to purposes of a different nature from those to which they are destined by the votes of parliament.—The money issued to Mr. Carey and the two others in 1797, was for the purpose of procuring a supply of specie for army services, from Hamburgh, at a time when there was great difficulty in obtaining it, owing to the restriction of payments in cash by the Bank. Mr. Boyd undertook to import a large sum, and the persons who received the money, which amounted to £100,000 by the Paymaster's drafts on the Bank, were nominated by Mr. Boyd, for the purpose of keeping the transaction secret, which he judged necessary for its success.—The service was not performed; and the principal sum so issued was repaid by Mr. Boyd, in the following year, by a similar sum which he received on account of another service, (the remitting of money to the Cape of Good Hope for the payment of troops) which he contracted with government to perform; in which he also failed. The question of interest upon the £100,000 was involved in the discussion of some claims preferred by Mr. Boyd, against government; and the repayment of the second sum is still in a course of legal proceeding, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the House of Messrs. Boyd and Co. when proper steps were immediately taken for recovering it, by direction from the Lords of the Treasury; and your committee are informed, that the principal difficulties which have prevented a satisfactory title from being made to purchasers (under this bankruptcy) are now nearly adjusted, and in the course of the next term, it is probable that the most considerable purchasers will be ready to complete their purchases, and to pay their purchase money into court.—Upon the important subject of recommending measures which may prevent similar abuses in future, your committee observe with great concern, that the most obvious, and perhaps the only effectual remedy, has been found by experience hitherto unattainable; but they think it necessary to represent as their deliberate opinion, that without an earlier examination, and auditing of accounts, irregularities can hardly be prevented; and that temptation will never be wanting to make use of public money, while there exists a great probability of its being for a long time uncalled for. After the accounts come before the commissioners for auditing, no attention is wanting in requiring proper warrants in discharge for every payment, and no sum is allowed with-

out a voucher of that kind; but so slow has been the progress hitherto, that notwithstanding the observations made on the subject by the Committee of Finance in 1797 and 1798, not one account of any Paymaster General has been finally settled and declared, nor made ready for declaration, in the nine or ten years which have since elapsed.—Parts of the accounts and vouchers for the year 1782, were delivered to the auditors in 1788, 1789, 1791, and 1798; parts of those for 1783 were delivered to them in 1792 and 1798; part of those for 1784, in 1794; and part of those for 1785, in 1797. It appears also that a supplementary account of the Paymaster General, from 24 April to 24 December, 1782, and a supplementary account for 1783, were delivered into their office, together with the attested accounts for 1784 and 1785, no longer ago than on 9th February last.—A letter from the chairman of that board affords a reasonable expectation that the account of the Paymaster General for the year 1782 will be finally audited, and ready for declaration about Christmas next; and that, provided there be no delay in the delivery of the subsequent accounts, the present arrear of the Pay Office accounts may be cleared at the Auditor's Office in the course of five or six years. It will be the duty of your committee, should they be reappointed, in the ensuing session, to make an early inquiry into the progress which shall have been made during the recess, and to consider how far the provisions of the act of 46th Geo. III. c. 141, under which the present Board of Commissioners for auditing the public accounts was appointed, have contributed to the object they were intended to answer, by facilitating the due examination and more speedy settlement of the public accounts; and whether any and what further regulations may be devised, for the attainment of so important and desirable an end.——Although some effectual improvement in that system, would be the most radical and substantial remedy, there are other subordinate measures fit to be enforced immediately, for which the regulations of office may in a great degree be sufficient; and legislative provision may be added wherever it becomes necessary.——Much of the delay, which occurs in procuring the clearing and covering warrants from the War Office, without which the paymaster's accounts cannot be examined by the auditors, may be removed, by making the transactions between these two offices more simple and methodical. It would be desirable in all instances to issue warrants at once, instead of transacting so much of the ordinary business by letters, which has formed a constant subject of complaint on the part of the paymasters; and it appears, that if warrants on account were granted by the Secretary at War for regimental services not completed within the year, the paymaster's accounts might be delivered soon after the end of every year to the auditors for examination.—The issue of money being in fact made originally upon the authority of the letter only, no other inquiry seems to be made in granting the subsequent warrant, than whether it agrees with the letter; and therefore any additional signatures to the warrant, which bear the appearance of further check and examination, add in reality no sort of security to the public, while the responsibility (which can never be desirable) becomes divided between two offices.—Your committee see no sort of necessity for every individual warrant being signed by his Majesty, nor for its being countersigned by the Lords of the Treasury, except where money is issued by their orders. In all cases where the Treasury is not concerned, the money is now actually paid upon the requisition of the Secretary at War, and his name alone ought to stand as sufficient authority for the warrant, making him, in whose department it is, responsible for the service and the expenditure.—It would be sufficient for his Majesty, in whom all money is originally vested by grant of parliament, to sign a warrant for large sums from time to time, leaving the detail of the application of them, as is the practice with regard to monies issued on account of the navy, and the ordnance, to the department under whose directions the particular service is performed.—The delay occasioned by the warrants being taken up by army agents, instead of being directly returned to the Pay Office through their own officers, ought to be entirely obviated, as it seems already to have been in some degree, with regard to what are called clearing warrants for regimental services. No reason appears why they should pass at all into the agent's hands, who may have an indirect interest in withholding them, and for the passing of whose accounts they are in no degree requisite.——Another regulation proper to be adopted, is a different manner of making out the accounts of extraordinaries to be laid before parliament, which the present paymaster informed your committee that he had directed to be done

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in future; and that an account should be regularly kept in the office, classed under the same heads as those for which the grants of parliament are annually voted ——No sums which have been issued in the course of the year, ought ever to be left out of the account of extraordinaries annually laid before parliament, for they create a temporary deficiency in the balance of the paymaster's cash, even if they are to be repaid; they therefore should be noticed in the first account after the issue by a memorandum, as sums not ultimately to be charged upon the public; and credit should be taken for them in any subsequent account, when they are actually replaced at the Bank. It would also tend materially to the clearness of all these accounts, if no articles of expenditure were inserted, but such as relate strictly to the army; instead of which, it is to be observed, that issues of money for the purchase of corn, and various miscellaneous purposes not directly relating to that service, have not unfrequently been admitted into them, and intermixed with army services; which your committee conceive to belong more properly to the particulars of the distribution of any vote of credit which may be granted for the year in which such articles appear.—A greater regularity in bringing up the accounts in the office itself, is essential in various points of view; and the attention of the paymaster himself is particularly necessary for insuring the attendance, and application of all the officers who are under him, and for enforcing a more punctual and accurate discharge of their duty, than appears to have hitherto prevailed. Their books should be frequently balanced, and the cash book ought always to be made up to the latest period possible; to the neglect of which it is in some measure owing, that it has been impossible to conform to the provisions of the Statute 45th Geo III. c 58; and the consequence has been, that ever since the passing of that act, the 5th sec. prescribing the mode in which the monthly memorials are to be presented to the Treasury; and the 8th clause in the Auditors Act, 46 Geo. III. c. 141. sec. 8. requiring all accountants to deliver in within three months after the end of each year, an account current of all sums received and paid by them within the year, have been totally disregarded.—It would have been necessary in this place, to observe upon the imperfect manner in which the entries of money paid by individuals to the paymaster's account, have been made by the clerks of the Bank in the cash-book of the office, if your committee had not received an assurance from the Governor of the Bank, that directions have been given to discontinue this practice, with regard to this, and all other public offices.—The practical inconvenience, to which the former mode was liable, appeared in a remarkable instance, in the course of the last year, when no less a sum than £291,348, remained for about four months in the Bank, without any information of the payment being given to the paymaster; which, though he ought certainly to have received from the accountant in his office, who was employed in making the payment, yet no good reason can be assigned why the negligence of that officer was not corrected by a communication from the Bank. A larger issue of money from the Exchequer, to the amount of that sum, than would otherwise have been required, must have been the consequence, and the public were of course either unnecessarily increasing exchequer bills, and paying interest for a sum which ought to have been at their disposal; or services which were to be paid with this money must have been suffered to remain unsatisfied.—The Act 45 Geo. III. c. 58, having repealed that of 1783, is now the only subsisting act for regulating the business of this office; and it therefore became the duty of your committee to examine how far it had been complied with, or had been found effectual, in the remaining points which it attempts to regulate.—— The time of making up the accounts, directed by sec. 21. has not been observed, any more than the clause in the Auditor's Act, 46 Geo. III. c. 141. sec. 8. above referred to. The clause with regard to regimental agents, sec. 23. has indeed been attended to in terms, but it has been found of little use in practice; because the paymaster, having no means of knowing the balance in the hands of agents, has no method of controverting the statements which they may think proper to deliver in, as to the aggregate balance of their accounts, it being always possible, that though an agent may be a debtor for one regiment (where he is concerned for several) he may be a creditor on account of another.—The books of the office have been brought up, subsequent to the inquiry of the former committee, to as late a date as the nature of the case admits of; but at that period, and when the present paymaster was appointed in April 1807, the fair cash-book was not brought up later than to the month of November 1806; nor were the accounts frequently, nor regularly balanced. — It would hardly have been deemed requisite to point out the propriety of appointing persons duly qualified by their knowledge of writing and arithmetic, and of a sufficient age,

to discharge the duties of clerks in the office, if the present paymaster had not very lately found it necessary to discharge some of those who had been admitted into the office, on account of their insufficiency, and inexperience —If your committee do not recommend any alteration in the power of drawing for money (to whatever amount,) which is at present vested in the paymaster, or in the cashier, it is not from any want of consideration bestowed upon this part of the subject; but they are at a loss to know, if it be withdrawn from those officers, in whom it can be lodged more properly, or with absolute security; for it is unquestionable, that in some department or other of government, it must necessarily be placed. If more signatures than one should be required to every draft, there is great risk of the public service being continually retarded, and the inconveniences will be much greater, if delays should be interposed in the first instance, of the same sort with those which now occur after the payments are made, and which tend only to obstruct the settlement of account, but not the service itself. It would inevitably follow, from any such division of responsibility, that, in the multiplicity of public business, credit would be given implicitly by one department of government to another, that the form of signing would soon become a matter of course, and that the paymaster would act under as little practical restraint as he does at present. If the paymaster and the cashier should be directed jointly to sign every draft, some sort of additional check may perhaps be laid upon the latter, but none will be felt by the head of the office: and it is obvious that if such had been the established practice of the office before the date of the two drafts, which have given occasion to this inquiry, the paymaster would not in the slightest degree have been precluded by it, from drawing for the money in the very mode he did, nor from detaining it, for as long a time, in his possession.—The whole business of the Pay Office is so intimately connected with that of the War Office, that it is hardly possible to report fully upon the former, without entering into an ample examination of the latter; but in the particulars which have been pointed out, their relative situation admits of alteration, with advantage to the public, as far at least as may be sufficient to prevent the paymaster's accounts from waiting for the auditing of those of army agents, and others, in which he has no concern, and over whom he has no control. To examine whether he has discharged his duty by issuing money upon regular vouchers, proceeding either from the War Office or the Treasury, cannot be a matter of intricacy, or delay; and if the Secretary at War should be authorized to grant warrants upon account for all services not completed within the year, and to grant upon his sole authority warrants for all other services, as more formal and regular documents than letters, for every payment, the same practice being also introduced into the Treasury, when any issues are directed by that board for army services; and if, further, the auditors should be empowered and required by an alteration of the act, (if necessary) to examine separately the accounts of the extraordinaries as soon as they are presented to them, and to compare every payment with the Bank cash book, there is every reason to expect, not only that every paymaster's account might be settled within a short period after the expiration of each year, but that a substantial check would be provided against all temptation to withdraw money from the service for which it is granted, when the detection of any such misapplication must immediately follow the examination of the annual accounts compared with the cash book of the bank. This opinion of your committee is fortified by that of the chairman of the board for auditing accounts, who stated his belief, that if the cash accounts required by the 46 Geo. III. 141. sec. 8. were delivered into the audit office, as well as the accounts of service also referred to in that section, and if the cash accounts were compared with the accountant's Bank book, it would not be possible for the paymaster general, or any other public accountant, to receive public money upon drafts made payable to himself, without that circumstance falling under the observation of the commissioners.—With regard to regimental accounts, and the difficulties which occur in expediting and settling them, some judicious suggestions have been received by your committee, which will deserve further consideration, whenever the mode of keeping and passing accounts in the War Office shall come under their examination. That the present system is defective, may be concluded from a long experience of its being found totally inadequate to obtain the two main objects, of perspicuity, and expedition; but whether it should be absolutely changed, or partially modified, your committee have not as yet received information sufficient to determine. The simplification of the branch connected with the Pay Office, in the manner they have suggested, they venture to recommend

as unquestionably beneficial; and they trust that the same principle may be extended with success to every other department of the military expenditure.

Extract from the Appendix.
Examination of the right hon. Thomas Steele, March 26, 1807.

The two sums mentioned by Mr. Thomas were issued by my direction, and I have no hesitation in stating that they were not issued for public service. I thought as others did at the time, that I had full authority to direct those issues. I was urged to do so by private consideration of a very popular nature, which operated at that time upon my mind; and I thought that by directing them to be issued to myself, and making myself responsible for them, that I could not, by possibility, incur the suspicion of concealment or fraud. It was my intention that they should have been replaced in a very short time, but it was not in my power to accomplish it. They remain charged against me in the pay office books till the beginning of the present year, when the former of the two sums was repaid; and the whole subject having been brought lately under the consideration of the board of Treasury, they have directed me to repay the remaining sum, with the interest due upon both sums, by instalments at stated periods, which I engaged to do. I cannot take upon myself to defend my conduct in this instance, which I must admit to have been incorrect; but I console myself with thinking, that the public will have suffered no loss.—Do you know of any other transaction of the same kind, during the time you was in the Pay-Office? I do not.—Of any arrear of the like nature, arising from the transaction of any former paymaster? I certainly do not.—Was any notice taken of this transaction by the treasury, previous to the beginning of this year? I apprehend it was not known to the treasury ever previous to this year.—Was any notice taken by any other public office? Not to my knowledge.

Examination of the right hon. Thomas Steele, April 10, 1807.

[Read part of the letter from lord Temple to lord Grenville] Have you any explanation to give in reference to this letter?—This being a statement of what passed in different conversations at different times, of which I made no memorandum myself, I certainly am not disposed to dispute the accuracy with which it is reported. I beg the committee at the same time to understand, that I never have attempted to justify the issue of the two sums in question, upon the ground that they were applied directly or indirectly to public service; but that in my former evidence I acknowledge that they were not issued with any reference to public service, but that I alone was responsible and accountable for them, and that I have, in fact, repaid them both, principal and interest.—[Read Mr. Steele's former examination, and extract of a letter from him to Mr. Thomas.]—Question repeated.—The persons to whom I allude in that letter, and in my examination, were the principal officers of the Pay Office, who had long been established there, and who uniformly contended, that the power of the Paymaster General to direct the issues of money from the Bank remained unlimited by any of the provisions of the act for regulating the office of Paymaster General.—Did you consult any other person as to the operation of that act upon the issue of money to the paymaster? I did not.—Whether, in point of fact, in any part of this transaction, you did act upon the opinions of any other persons conjointly with your own, or consult any other person on the subject? No.

Examination of the right hon. George Rose, April 13, 1807.

You are desired to state, when and in what manner you became acquainted with the transactions relating to Mr. Steele's two drafts. On Monday the 10th February, 1806, Mr. Thomas, with Mr. Harmood, and Mr. Bradshaw, two of the senior clerks of the Pay Office, came to my house; and, after some conversation on other subjects, when they were leaving the room, Mr. Bradshaw, under some apparent embarrassment, said he wished to apprize me of a circumstance of an extraordinary nature which had occurred in the time of my predecessors: that Mr. Steele had, in the year 1800, taken two sums of £7,000 and £12,000 out of the cash in the hands of the Paymaster General, on giving his own receipt for the same; which receipt was written by Mr. Wood, Deputy Cashier, without any authority having appeared for the same, either from the Treasury or the War office: at which statement I expressed great surprise, and to Mr. Thomas some resentment, at the same having been delayed till I was out of office, and could apply no possible remedy, observing, the transaction was on the face of it at least a most irregular one; but that, from my long knowledge of Mr. Steele, I was perfectly sure he would be able to explain it, so as to acquit himself of having done any thing more, than taking upon himself a serious responsibility; that he probably had a voucher in his possession, but that in any

event, it had been his (Mr. Thomas's) indispensable duty to remind that gentleman of the transaction on his quitting office in 1804, in order, that if it had not been satisfactorily explained, he might then have stated it to me and my colleagues, on our appointment: to which Mr. Thomas answered, he had called two or three times at Mr. Steele's door, without finding him at home: such a justification appeared to render his conduct still less excusable; because if he thought it necessary to see Mr. Steele on the subject, he certainly should have apprized him of his wish to do so, that he might be sure of meeting with him. I therefore desired him to write to Mr. Steele, to insure his seeing him, and to let me know, on my return from Bugden, whether any interposition of mine with Mr. Steele would be necessary: on the 20th, Mr. Thomas came to me accordingly, when he told me that he had seen Mr. Steele, who said generally, that the sums before mentioned as received by him were for army services. Whether, subsequent to the communication made by Mr. Bradshaw in the presence of Mr. Thomas, you had any communication with Mr. Steele on the subject; and if so, what was the purport of it? I had a personal communication with Mr. Steele on the 21st February, which I considered as of a private nature, being out of office; but the particulars of which I am perfectly willing to give.—Mr. Rose being desired to proceed, stated, that Mr. Steele declined entering into particulars, not feeling himself at liberty to do it; that the advances were made to a person or persons, he was not sure which, for services of a secret nature; that the whole would be repaid, but he could not at that moment exactly fix the time, acknowledging that he had no warrant, or other authority for the issue: the advice I gave him was, that, under such circumstances, I thought he should see either lord Grenville, or the present pay-master general, and explain to his lordship, or them, so much of the transaction as should satisfy them,—the whole, certainly, if they should think it necessary; adding, that it was by all comparison better he should do that in the first instance from himself, than wait to give an explanation when he should be called upon to do so; especially, as the precedent in this case would shew to future paymasters general the possibility of their taking money placed in the bank on account of the public, for their own private accommodation, at any time when they should find themselves under a pressing urgency to do so, which was plainly against the spirit of the pay-office act. I wrote to him the same evening, enforcing the advice I had given to him in the morning; in answer to which I received a letter, dated 23d February, 1806:—"I will certainly follow your "advice, and take an early opportunity of "communicating to lord Grenville the circumstances which relate to the issue of "the two sums in question: you may "therefore, if you think proper, apprize "Mr. Thomas of my intention."—Whether, on the same day that Mr. Bradshaw made the communication relating to Mr. Steele in the presence of Mr. Thomas, you, in the same conversation, expressed your willingness to enter in the Minute Book a minute, recommending to the notice of your successor an increase of salary to the six senior Clerks?—Of that, I have no recollection, as to its having passed on that day; but the measure having been agreed on by my colleague and myself previously thereto, it may have happened that upon that day I told them I would enter the minute. I have no recollection of the minute being ante-dated, but I think it probable it may have been so, as on the 10th I considered myself completely out of office.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON THE COMMERCIAL STATE OF THE WEST INDIA COLONIES. *Ordered to be printed, August* 8, 1807.

The Committee who were appointed to take into consideration the Commercial State of the West India Colonies, and to report their proceedings, from time to time, to the House of Commons; and who were empowered to report the minutes of evidence taken before them; and to whom all minutes of evidence which were taken before the Committee in the last Session of Parliament, on the West India Planters' Petitions, together with their proceedings, were referred; have, pursuant to the order of the House, examined the matters to them referred; and have agreed to the following Report:

Your committee have thought it their duty, in the first place, to inquire into the situation of the West India Planters at the present moment, and for several years preceding; and have examined various respectable witnesses, proprietors of estates, who have resided many years in the West Indies, and who have had the properties of several absentees under their management; and also many merchants intimately acquainted with the expenses and profits of a great variety of estates, and generally conversant

with the West India Commerce. From their testimony it appears, that since the year 1799, there has taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the planters, resulting from a progressive diminution of the price of sugar, although at the same time the duty, and all the expences attending the cultivation, have been increasing, till at length the depression of the market has become such, that the prices obtained for the last year's crop will not pay the expence of cultivation, except upon estates on a very great scale, making sugar of a very superior quality, or enjoying other extraordinary advantages. Calculations have been laid before your committee, from the accounts of estates both in Jamaica and the other Islands, by which it appears, that the British supplies and Island expenses amount to 20s. 10d. in the former, and to 19s. 6d. in the latter, on the cwt. of sugar, after accounting and giving credit for the amount received for the sale of rum. As these calculations are formed upon an average of years and upon estates of the ordinary scale, and in no respects unusually circumstanced, it appears to your committee, that these sums per cwt. of sugar may be taken as the average expense of cultivation, independent of interest upon the capital; and your committee are confirmed in this opinion by finding a similar calculation in the Report made by the Sugar Distillery Committee, in the last parliament. To this must be added an expense of from 15s 6d. to 16s. per cwt. necessarily incurred for freight, insurance and other mercantile charges, between the shipping the goods in the colonies, and their being offered to market in this kingdom, forming together an amount of from 35s. to 36s. which appears upon this evidence, to be the absolute cost to the planter per cwt. of sugar, before any return of capital can attach. Upon a reference to the average prices published in the Gazette, for the last eight months, which vary from 36s. to 31s. giving a mean price of 33s. 6d, it appears evident, that the planters must have cultivated their estates at a loss.—The interest which has been stated to your Committee as what should be the fair profit upon a capital of such a nature as that of a Sugar estate, consisting not merely of land and Negroes, but of buildings of great extent and cost, necessary for the carrying on of such manufactures, and subject to various and peculiar risks and vicissitudes, is not less then 10 per cent.—During the period of prosperity previous to 1800, it is stated that in general the profits did not exceed that sum; and that, from that period, they have gradually diminished to 2½ and 1½ per cent, till at the present moment, there is no return of interest whatever.—It may perhaps be right to notice one exception, namely, of an estate most favourably circumstanced in every respect, where the profits are stated to have amounted during the four years 1795, 1796, 1797 and 1798, to 12 per cent; but they appear also to have declined ever since; in 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804, to have been reduced to about 6 per cent, and in 1805, to about 3 per cent, and subsequently to have suffered a still farther reduction.—In the course of their investigation of the situation of the planters, your Committee thought it right to ascertain whether it might not be in their own power, in many instances, to remedy the evils of their situation, by converting their sugar estates; to other more profitable cultivation; but the evidence on that point shews, that such a conversion must be attended with so great a sacrafice of capital, as to be out of the question as a measure of relief.—With a view to the prospect for the future, they have obtained a return of the quantity of sugar at present in the West India Docks; from which and from other evidence, it appears, that the quantity now on hand is unusually great for the time of year. The crop of last year is also on the point of coming into the market.—It should not be omitted further to state, that for many years past the islands have almost entirely escaped the natural calamities (of hurricanes, &c.) which have occasionally proved destructive to the property in those countries.—In investigating the causes of that depression of the market, from whence the whole of the planter's distress appears to originate, the first object which strikes your Committee, is, that extraordinary situation in which he is placed, which prevents him alone (in exception to every other similar case) from indemnifying himself for the increase of duty, and of other expenses attending his cultivation, by an equivalent increase of price to the consumer. For it appears, that since the year 1799, the duty on sugar has been raised from 20s. to 27s. and contingently to 30s. per cwt.; the expences of the estates are calculated to have risen in many articles 50, and in others above 100 per cent; and the price has fallen from 69s. to 33s. 6d. per cwt. the average of the last eight months. As it appears obvious, from the above statement, that the duty is heavier than the article can bear at its present price, it is suggested that it might be expedient, for the relief of the home market, to extend the principle which has been adopted on the contingent increase of duty from 27s. to 30s.; so that from the maximum of duty then fixed, on

a gross price of 80s. affording 30s. duty and 50s. to the planter, the duty should be thrown back on a similar scale in proportion to the depression of the market, till the price arrives at 60s. gross, leaving 20s. (the original duty) to government, and 40s. to the planter; or, in other words, a reduction of 2s. gross price, from the average then fixed for 1s. of duty on a reduction of the imposition of the new duty, as far as 20s.——An increase of the bounty on the export has been also recommended; and your committee are of opinion, that it would afford great relief if given as an accompaniment to measures of restriction upon neturals, so as to render the expences on British and foreign produce equal in the foreign market.—A considerable depreciation in the price of rum having also taken place, it has been suggested, that the encouragement of the consumption of that article would be a considerable advantage to the Planter. Your committee are aware that such encouragement has been given, to a certain extent, but if it were found practicable to carry that assistance further, by an increased consumption in the army and navy, such a measure would, in their opinion, have very beneficial effects; or a reduction of duty on rum might afford essential relief to the planter, without loss to the revenue, which would be indemnified by an increased consumption of that spirit.—Great, however, as are the evils of the decrease of price and increase of charges, it does not appear to your committee, that they are the original causes of the distress of the planter, by applying to which alone any practicable remedy, he could be more than partially relieved; but that the main evil, and that to which these are ultimately to be referred, is the very unfavourable state of the foreign market, in which formerly the British merchant enjoyed nearly a monopoly, but where he cannot at present enter into competition with the planters, not only of the netural but of the hostile colonies. The result of all their enquiries on this most important part of the subject has brought before their eyes one grand and primary evil, from which all the others are easily to be deduced; namely, the facility of intercourse between the hostile colonies of Europe, under the American neutral flag, by means of which not only the whole of their produce is carried to a market, but at charges little exceeding those of peace; while a British planter is burdened with all the inconvenience, risk, and expence, resulting from a state of war.—The advantages which the hostile colonies derive from the relaxation of that principle, which prohibited any trade from being carried on with the enemy's colonies by neutrals during war, which the enemy himself did not permit to those neutrals during peace, may be in part estimated by reference to a statement of the imports into Amsterdam alone, from the United States of America, in the year 1806, amounting to 34,085 hhds. of coffee, and 45,097 hhds. of sugar, conveyed in 211 vessels, hereunto annexed; and to a statement also annexed, of the amount of West-India produce, exported from the United States of America, between the 1st. October, 1805, and 30th September, 1806. In point of comparative expense, the advantages of the hostile colonies will be further illustrated by the evidence of Mr. Marryat, supported by satisfactory documents, which show the charges of freight and insurance on sugar from the hostile colonies, through the United States of America, to the ports of Holland and Flanders, and to those of the Mediterranean, to be less by 8s. 11d. to the former, and by 12s. 6d. to the latter, than those charges on British sugars to the same ports.—Your committee cannot omit to state also another important advantage enjoyed by the French colonies, from the sale of nearly the whole French mercantile marine to neutrals, under the stipulation of each vessel being returned into French ports, in order to be navigated as French ships, within twelve months after peace, and with the enjoyment, during war, of the same privileges in the ports of France, as if they were actually French, for instance, to import sugar at a duty of 4s. per cwt. less than the duty imposed on sugar imported in neutral vessels.—In order to counterbalance, in some degree, the advantages thus enjoyed by the hostile colonies, to the detriment of the British planter, it has been recommended, that a blockade of the ports of the enemy's settlements should be resorted to; such a measure, if it could be strictly enforced, would undoubtedly afford relief to our export trade.—But a measure of more permanent and certain advantage would be the enforcement of those restrictions on the trade between neutrals and the enemy's colonies, which were formerly maintained by Great Britain, and from the relaxation of which the enemy's colonies obtain indirectly, during war, all the advantages of peace; while our own colonies, in the intercourse with whom that system of monopoly which has been held essential to the commercial and military navy of this country, is rigorously enforced, are deprived of the advantages under which in former

wars they carried their produce to the foreign markets, and which in the present war, by means of our decided naval superiority, would have amounted to the exclusive supply of the whole of Europe; and when those extraordinary measures are taken into consideration which have been adopted to exclude the British colonial produce from the European market, it appears to your committee to be a matter of evident and imperious necessity, to resort to such a system, as by impeding and restricting, and, as far as possible, preventing the export of the produce of the enemy's colonies from the places of its growth, shall compel the continent to have recourse to the only source of supply which, in that event, would be open to it.—As it may be apprehended that from the adoption of such measures, difficulties might arise in that intercourse, from which the West-Indies at present derive a considerable proportion of some of their supplies, your committee have thought it their duty to make inquiry into the resources in that respect to which recourse might be had in such an event. During the only period which affords an example of the suspension of that intercourse, the evidence concurs as to the fact of a supply having been obtained (though not without temporary and occasional inconveniences) from a variety of sources which may reasonably be relied upon, in case of such necessity, at the present moment, to a greater amount than at the former period. From the examination of persons who, in consequence of their residence in the British North American settlements, or extensive commercial connections with them, possess the best information as to their present and future resources, there is ground to believe that some supply of the principal articles of lumber might be obtained from thence immediately, and to expect that, with due encouragement, the quantity of that supply might be increased to any extent.—The supply of flour which they could at present afford to the West India market would be small, and of inferior quality. They appear to be capable of affording a large supply of fish, and what deficiency might exist in other articles of salt provisions, might be made up by supplies from Europe.—Upon the whole, the impression which your committee have received, is, that the trade now carried on between the British West-Indies and the United States of America, is very convenient and advantageous to the inhabitants of our colonies, and one which they could not relinquish without essential detriment, unless it were compensated by other advantages; but that it is not essential to their existence, or equivalent to the disadvantages of their situation, in those respects which your committee have already gone through in the present statement.—Your committee having briefly stated the distressed situation of the West-India Planter—the causes which have gradually produced his distress, which are beyond his reach to remedy, and which must continue to operate with increased effect—and having stated such measures of relief as have been suggested to them, and such as, from the best sources of information, appear most adequate to the end in view, have only to add, that if those remedies are liable to objections and difficulties, there is on the other hand the strongest concurrent testimony and proof, that unless some speedy and efficient measures of relief are adopted, the ruin of a great number of the planters, and of persons in this country, holding annuities, and otherwise dependent upon those properties for their income, must inevitably very soon take place, which must be followed by the loss of a vast capital, advanced on securities in those countries, and by the most fatal injury to the commercial, maritime, and financial interests of Great Britain.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

AUSTRIA.—*Note of Mr. Canning, English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Prince Stahremberg, the Austrian Ambassador at London, dated London, April 25, 1807.*

The undersigned, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has laid before the King the Note delivered to him by Prince Stahremberg, Ambassador Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, in which his Imperial Majesty offers himself as the Mediator of a General Peace. The undersigned has received it in command from the King his Sovereign, to communicate to Prince Stahremberg the inclosed official answer to the Note of his Imperial Majesty. The king does complete justice to the motives that have induced his Imperial Majesty to propose a mode of negociation which, by embracing the interests of all parties, can alone lead to the restoration of a lasting peace, and the permanent tranquillity of Europe; and his Majesty, therefore, accepts the offer of his Imperial Majesty's mediation, so far as he is concerned; but with this provision that it shall also be accepted by all the other powers involved in the present war.

NOTE.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has received with due regard the communication of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and also justly appreciates the motives which have, upon this occasion, determined his Majesty to become the Mediator of a General Peace. —The King, who has never ceased to look to a secure and lasting peace as the only object of the war in which he is engaged, and who has never refused to listen to any proposal which offered the least probability of attaining his proposed object, cannot, for a moment, hesitate to give his full assent to the declared opinion of his Majesty the Emperor and King, and that such a peace is only to be obtained by a general negociation on the part of all the Powers engaged in the present war.—The King will have no difficulty in entering upon such a negociation, as soon as the consent of the other Powers interested therein shall have been received. His Majesty will, without delay, make the necessary communications in this respect to those Powers with which he is more especially united by the ties of friendship and confidence, in order to ascertain their views, and in the event of their being favourable to the proposition of his Imperial Majesty, to consult with them as to the mode in which the negociations shall commence, and, agreeably to his Imperial Majesty's proposition, to come to an understanding as to the principles which should equally form the ground and basis of discussion and of a general arrangement.—As to what concerns the choice of a place to become the seat of negociation, any place will be equally acceptable to his majesty, provided (exclusive of the indispensible condition which is also expressed in the Note of his Imperial Majesty, that it shall be free from all immediate influence of the events of the war) that it affords to his Britannic Majesty, in the same degree as to the other Powers, the means of a speedy and uninterrupted communication with the Plenipotentiaries whom his Majesty should send to this Congress.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

RUSSIA.—*Note from his Imperial Majesty to the General of Infantry, Minister of the Land Forces, Chief Commandant at St. Petersburgh, and Knight-Sergei Kosmitch Wastmitinow.—Tauroggin, June* 28, 1807.

Sergei Kosmitsch, the obstinate and sanguinary war between Russia and France, every step and every enterprize whereof, has been marked with unshaken fortitude and bravery of the Russian troops, has been terminated, thank God, by a peace which was ratified on the 27th of this month a beneficial tranquillity has been restored; the integrity and security of the Russian frontiers are secured by an increase of territory, and Russia is indebted for this solely to the heroic exploits, and to the unremitting exertions and zeal with which her valiant sons have undauntedly stepped forward and braved every danger even to death itself.—I hasten to inform you of this happy event, in order that general publicity may be given to it.—ALEXANDER.

PRUSSIA.—*Proclamation addressed by the King of Prussia to the Subjects of the ceded provinces. Dated Memel, July* 24, 1807.

You are acquainted, beloved inhabitants of faithful provinces, territories, and towns, with my sentiments, and with the events of last year. My arms succumbed under the pressure of misfortunes; the exertions of the last remains of my army proved fruitless; forced back to the outermost borders of the Empire, and even my powerful Ally having judged it necessary to conclude an armistice and peace, nothing remained with me but the wish to restore tranquillity to my country; after the calamites of war, peace was concluded, as circumstances dictated; the most painful sacrifices were required of myself and my House; what ages and worthy ancestors, conventions, love, and confidence, had united, was to be severed; my efforts, the exertions of all who belonged to me, were used in vain. Fate ordains a Father to part with his children; I release you from all your allegiance to my person and to my House. My most ardent wishes for your prosperity attend you to your new Sovereign; be to him what you were to me; no fate, no power, can efface from my bosom and from the mind of my family, the remembrance of you.—FREDERICK WILLIAM.

COMMERCE WITH RUSSIA.—*Ukase, issued by Order of the Emperor of Russia: dated July*, 1807.

The senate having taken into consideration the representation of Count Romantzoff, in which he sets forth, "that the College of Commerce has demanded of him, from what date are English merchants, trading here, to reckon the term of six months allowed to itinerant merchants—whether from the date of the Imperial Manifesto, that is, from the 1st of January of this year, or from the date on which the English Treaty of Commerce expired?" He, the Ministe, of Commerce, following the exact interpretation of the appellation of itinerant merchant, in the Imperial Manifesto, does not see any sufficient reason for the College of

Commerce having put this question; but, combining the circumstances of the times, and judging by that security which the foreign merchants on their own account have hitherto enjoyed, concludes that they, being perhaps in hopes of some change of the Manifesto in their favour, and not having yet obtained their wish, defer fulfilling the object of the measures which have been adopted by the Manifesto, and endeavour to lay hold of the appellation of itinerant merchants, for the purpose of remaining six months longer in an undeterminate state. The term of time for foreign merchants is very clearly set down in the Manifesto, and the English treaty of commerce can have no place there, which expired on the 25th of March, N. S. With respect to foreigners inscribing themselves as itinerant merchants, the 10th article of the Manifesto again clearly orders that the term granted to the itinerant merchants is to be reckoned from the day of the arrival of the foreign trader in Russia, consequently foreigners inscribed into Guilds who have paid their yearly tax for this year, or such as have houses (which is not allowed to the class of itinerant merchants); or such as have lived a long while in Russia, for purposes of trade, cannot become itinerant merchants, but must enter direct either into the state of subject, or into the class of foreign guests. For these reasons, the Minister of Commerce, on representing this subject to the senate, has applied for an Ukase, in confirmation of the same, as well for foreign merchants resident in Russia, as for those who may hereafter come into this empire; and in order not to impede commercial transactions by too sudden an alteration in the situation of the merchants, by which they would be obliged either to enter into new employments, or entirely to put a stop to them, "would not the senate think proper to allow the following arrangement to be made?" viz. That as soon as any petition is given in for admitting a foreigner as a guest, the Duma, or City Council, should give the petitioner a certificate, empowering him to carry on business in conformity with his future intended calling, and after that the Duma might collect from them the information necessary for their introduction into the rights and obligations attached to guests, as ordered by articles 5 and 12 of the Manifesto.—It is therefore ordered, that it be made known to the Minister of Commerce, that the senate, finding the representation which he has made in consequence of the question of the College of Commerce, relative to the term allowed by the Manifesto of the 1st of January of this year, to foreign itinerant merchants, and relative to those foreigners who are inscribed in Guilds, and have paid the yearly tax, or have houses, or have lived some time in the Russian empire for the purposes of trade, that they cannot become itinerant merchants, but must become subjects, or foreign guests; and finding that representation just, and conformable to the meaning and intent of the Imperial Manifesto, leaves it to the Minister of Commerce to ratify and make known the same to those who already reside in Russia, as well as to those who may come hereafter, by publications in the Gazettes of Moscow and Petersburgh. And that this Ordinance should also be put in due execution, on the part of the administration of provinces, proper instructions are to be made out to them, that they, in conformity with the representation of the Minister of Commerce, and to avoid impeding the course of commercial affairs, by allowing too short a period, should instruct the city councils to proceed in the following manner, viz. As soon as any petitions for inscription, as foreign guests, are presented by foreigners, the city council receiving from them the necessary documents, as stipulated by articles 5 and 12 of the Manifesto, by which they can be introduced into the rights and obligations attached to guests, are at the same time to give the petitioners certificates, purporting that they are at liberty to prosecute their business as foreign guests, even before all the formalities necessary for their complete inscription are gone through. Whereof proper notice is to be given to all provincial courts and governors in Petersburgh and Moscow, to the Minister of the Interior, and to the Colleges of Commerce and Foreign Affairs.——July, 1807,—1st Department.

Ordonnance of the Bishop of the Diocese of Quimper, on the subject of the Conscription of 1808, *and ordering the Priests to beg of God to put a stop to the Persecutions which the Catholic Church suffers in Ireland. From the Moniteur, dated July* 13, 1807.

Pierre Vincent Dombidau de Croseillhes, by the Grace of God, and authority of the Holy See, Bishop of Quimper, member of the Legion of Honour, to the clergy and faithful of his diocese; health and benediction:—My dear brethren,—A new conscription imposes upon you the sacred obligation of rallying under the standard of the hero who governs. We shall recal to you those principles which we have heretofore enforced under similar circumstances. We have seen, with the most lively consolation,

that those who were at one time deaf to the voice of religion, and of their country, have hastened to make reparation for that moment of folly, by obeying their holy authority. Yes, my dear brethren, the divine religion which you profess imposes upon you the sacred duty of fighting for your country; your spiritual pastors call you to this without ceasing; they refuse to grant you absolution, to admit you to the Lord's table, so long as you persist in a resolution, as contrary to religion and justice, as to those sentiments of honour and bravery, which always distinguish the intrepid and religious inhabitants of these countries. Without doubt we pity your sacrifices, for no people of this vast empire are more attached to their paternal hearths; your manners, your language, render you almost strangers to all other countries. But if you leave your dearest friends, you will find, in your august Emperor, the most tender father. With what active solicitude does he watch so often the fatigues of his brave soldiers! And when the infirmities, to which they are all too often subject, or honourable wounds confine them in hospitals, what cares, what abundant and generous succours, does he not bestow upon them! He has been seen, my beloved brethren, to honour their attachment and bravery, by dressing, with his own royal hands, those heroic and affecting victims of war. Can your sacrifices have a more sacred object? The end you have in view, is to free your country from the domineering ambition of that government (1), which places its only glory and happiness in the calamities of other nations. For many years, people the most interested to live in peace with France have been shedding their blood in unjust wars, conjured up by intrigue and corruption. But He who reigns on high in the Heavens, and who judges nations and kings, hath sufficiently proved to the astonished world, that he dissipates when he pleases, the most formidable leagues, and that "it is by Him that kings reign."——It is He, my beloved brethren, who inspires our august Emperor with that spirit of moderation, and of wisdom, which the most just resentments, and the most splendid trophies of victory, cannot alter. Of that intoxication of glory, from which the noblest minds have had the greatest difficulty to preserve themselves, his soul, more lofty still, has no knowledge. He calls to kings, tottering on their thrones, from whence he is well assured he can precipitate them, if he does but give the signal for combat: 'Why destroy your subjects? I put no value on a victory which must be purchased by the lives of many of my children (2).' And when, sovereign of their states, he could have imposed upon them burthensome conditions, he always proposes to them honourable terms. Alas, it is because he feels the value of his subjects' blood, and has exhausted the honours which common conquerors obtain! His genius points out to him a glory more mild, more dear to his heart, the glory of ameliorating every thing, of improving every thing in his vast empire, and of causing to spring out of this fertile earth, new sources of prosperity and of honour. When one sees him, my beloved brethren, divide all the fatigues and all the dangers of war—trace with the same hand, and under his tent, the plans of a campaign—prepare for new victories, and employ himself with solicitude in every thing which can contribute to the happiness of his subjects (3)—re-establish those sacred institutions, which ensure support and consolation to infirmity and misfortunes—assign to the poor such instruction as is necessary to their welfare—appropriate distinctions and recompence to the talents, the zeal, and the virtues of those venerable pastors (4), who think that they are unknown, save to God alone—honour with the most affecting sensibility, the memory of a bishop (5), who had become a kind of visible providence of that diocese, which was indebted to him for peace, and all the other blessings of which real charity and religion are the source, soften the regret of the whole Gallican church, and the profound grief of his own particular church; what Frenchman's heart is there, which does not bless with transport the Divine Providence, for having given him, as Emperor and King, to that splendid magnificent empire, which was almost buried under its own bloody ruins, the only man who could repair its sufferings, and cover, with the veil of his own glory, those periods which had dishonoured it.—With what lively sentiments of love and gratitude will you learn, my beloved brethren, that far as he is separated from you, and in spite of the great events which he prepares, and which occupy his thoughts, you are always present to his heart. He regrets his not having yet been able to visit these countries:—'We regret not having yet visited them; but one of the first journies which we shall make, after our return to our own states, shall be to see with our own eyes so interesting a part of our own people (6).'——Yes, you shall see, my beloved brethren, that immortal deliverer, who has freed you from the horrors of anarchy, and of civil discord—that instrument of Providence who has re-opened our temples, and restored our altars. He shall hear the acclamations of your gratitude and of your

love. They will prove to the eternal enemy (7) of the glory and prosperity of France, that all its perfidious efforts and intrigues will never be able to alienate from him your religious and faithful hearts. For a moment it had seduced you, at that unhappy epoch when anarchy ravaged this desolated land, and when its impious furies overturned your temples, and profaned your altars. It only affected concern for the re-establishment of our holy religion, in order to rend and ravage our country.—See the sufferings it (England) inflicts on that nation (8), Catholic like you, which is subject to its dominion. The three last ages present only the afflicting picture of a people, robbed of all its religious and civil rights. In vain the most enlightened men of that nation have protested against the tyrannical oppression. A new persecution has ravished from them even the hope of seeing an end to their calamities: an inflamed and misled people (9) dares applaud such injustice. It insults with sectarian fanaticism the Catholic religion, and its venerable chief; and it is that government, which knows not how to be just towards its own subjects, that dares to calumniate this, which has given us security and honour.—Whilst the Irish Catholics groan beneath laws so oppressive, our august Emperor does not confine himself to the protection and establishment of that religion in his own states; he demanded, in his treaty with Saxony, that it should there enjoy the same liberty as other modes of worship.—But the happiness, so dear to your hearts, my brethren, of being able to enjoy, with security, all the consolations of the religion of your fathers, will only render you more sensible of the miseries of that portion of the Catholic church (10): spread through all countries, it is always united by bonds of the same faith with the different churches; it partakes of their tribulations, and is interested in their prosperity. Faithful to these sentiments and principles, let us address the God of all vows and prayers to turn aside from the Irish Catholic church, this new storm with which it is menaced.—Impelled by these causes, we ordain as follows:—Art. I. Our present Ordonnance shall be read at the time of the sermon, in the public service, on Sunday the 7th of June, in the Cathedral, and in all the other Churches, on the Sunday after it is received.——Art. II. There shall be said, every day, in divine service, in order to pray God to put a stop to the persecution which the Catholic Church of Ireland suffers, the prayer "Against Persecutors of the Church," the "Secret," and the "Post Communion," as long as that persecution shall continue. Given at Quimper, June 1, 1807.—Pierre Vincent, Bishop of Quimper.—Le Clanche, Priest, Secretary.—By order of the Bishop.

(1) England.—(2) Letter of his Majesty the Emperor and King, to the King of Prussia, before the battle of Jena.—(3) The many decrees, which establish associations, bound by their vow to the service of hospitals, and the instruction of the poor.——(4) Decree of his Majesty, which raises, for their merit, the clergy of the second class to those of the first.—(5) Letter of his Majesty, to his Excellency the Minister of Divine Worship, ordering him to cause a statue of the Bishop of Vannes to be erected in that Cathedral.—(6) Letter of his Majesty, to his Excellency the Minister of Divine Worship.——(7) England.—(8) Ireland.—(9) The English people.——(10) The Irish Catholic Church.

Continental War. —— *Eightieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(Concluded from page 248.)

[Here follow the names of some officers who signalized themselves.]——The sons of the senators, Perignon, Clement de Ris, and Garran Coulon, died with honour in the field of battle.——Marshal Ney proceeded to Gumbunnin, secured some of the enemy's parks of artillery, many wounded Russians, and took a great number of prisoners.

82d Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 22.——An armistice has been concluded upon the proposition of the Russian general. (Here follows the armistice.) The French army occupies all the Thalweg of the Niemen, so that there only remains to the King of Prussia the town and territories of Memel.

Proclamation of the Emperor and King to the Grand Army.

Soldiers,—On the 5th of June we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inactivity. He found too late that our repose was that of the lion—he regrets having disturbed it—In the affairs of Guttstadt, Heilsberg, and the ever memorable one of Friedland, in a ten days campaign, in short, we took 120 pieces of cannon, 7 standards; killed, wounded, or took 60,000 Russians, carried off all the enemy's magazines and hospitals. Konigsberg, the 300 vessels that were there, laden with all sorts of ammunition, 160,000 fusils sent by England to arm our enemies.—From the banks of the Vistula we have reached the borders of the Niemen with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebra-

ted at Austerlitz the anniversary of the coronation; you celebrated this year, in an appropriate manner, the battle of Marengo, which put a period to the second coalition.—Frenchmen, you have been worthy of yourselves and of me. You will return to France covered with laurels; after having obtained a glorious peace, which carries with it the guarantee of its duration. It is time that our country should live at rest, secure from the malignant influence of England. My benefits shall prove to you my gratitude, and the full extent of the love I bear you.—At the Imperial Camp at Tilsit, June 22.

83d Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 23.——Annexed is the capitulation of Neisse.——The garrison, 6000 strong in infantry and 300 in cavalry, defiled on the 16th before Prince Jerome. We found in the place 300,000 pounds of powder, and 300 pieces of cannon.

84th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 24.——The Marshal of the Palace, Duroc, went on the 24th to the head-quarters of the Russian army, on the other side of the Niemen, to exchange the ratifications of the armistice, which had been ratified by the Emperor Alexander. On the 24th, Prince Labanoff having demanded an audience of the Emperor, was admitted on the same day at two in the afternoon; he remained a long time in the cabinet with his Majesty. Gen. Kalkreuth is expected at the head-quarters to sign the armistice with the King of Prussia.—On the 11th of June, at 4 o'clock in the morning, the Prussians attacked Druezewo in great force; Gen. Claparede sustained the enemy's fire; Marshal Massena rushed along the line, repulsed the enemy, and disconcerted their projects; the 17th regiment of light infantry maintained its regulation; Gen. Montbrun distinguished himself; a detachment of the 28th light infantry, and a picquet of the 25th dragoons, put the Cossacks to flight. All the enterprizes of the enemy against our posts, on the 11th and 12th inst. turned to their own confusion. It is already seen by the armistice, that the left wing of the French army supports itself on the Curisch Haff, at the mouth of the Niemen, from whence our line extends itself towards Grodno; the right, commanded by Marshal Massena, reaches to the confines of Russia, between the sources of the Narew and the Bug. The head-quarters are about to be removed to Konigsberg, where every day new discoveries are made of provisions, ammunition, and other effects, belonging to the enemy.—A position so formidable is the result of successes the most brilliant; and while the enemy's army flies routed and destroyed, more than half the French army has not fired a musket.

85th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 24.——To-morrow the two Emperors of France and Russia are to have an interview. For this purpose a pavilion has been erected in the middle of the Niemen, to which the two monarchs will repair from each of its banks.—Few sights will be more interesting. The two sides of the river will be lined by the two armies, while their chiefs confer on the means of re-establishing order, and giving repose to the existing generation. The Grand Marshal of the Palace, Duroc, went yesterday, at 3 in the afternoon, to compliment the Emperor Alexander. Marshal Count Kalkreuth was presented this day to the Emperor: he remained an hour in his Majesty's cabinet.—The corps of Marshal Lannes was reviewed this morning by the Emperor. He made several promotions, gave rewards to those who distinguished themselves by their bravery, and expressed his satisfaction to the Saxon cuirassiers.

86th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 25 ——This day, at one, the Emperor, accompanied by the Duke of Berg, Prince Neufchatel, Marshal Bessieres, the Marshal of the Palace Duroc, and the Grand Equerry Caulaincourt, embarked on the banks of the Niemen, in a boat prepared for the purpose. They proceeded to the middle of the river, where Gen. Lariboissiere, commanding the artillery of the guard, had caused a raft to be placed, and a pavilion erected upon it. Close by it was another raft and pavilion for their Majesties' suite. At the same moment the Emperor Alexander set out from the right bank, accompanied by the Grand Duke Constantine, Gen. Bennigsen, Gen. Ouwaroff, Prince Labanoff, and his principal Aid-de-Camp Count Lieven.—The two boats arrived at the same instant, and the two Emperors embraced each other as soon as they sat foot on the raft. They entered together the saloon which was prepared for them, and remained there two hours. The conference having been concluded, the persons composing the suite of the two Emperors were introduced. The Emperor Alexander paid the handsomest compliments to the officers who accompanied the Emperor, who, on his part, had a long conversation with the Grand Duke Constantine and Gen. Bennigsen.——The

conference having terminated, the two Emperors embarked each in his boat. It is supposed that the conference has had the happiest result. Shortly after, Prince Labanoff went to the French head-quarters. An agreement has taken place that one half of the town of Tilsit is to be rendered neutral. The apartments appointed there for the residence of the Emperor of Russia and his court have been fixed upon. The imperial Russian guard will pass the river, and be quartered in that part of the city destined to that purpose.—The vast number of persons belonging to each army, who flocked to both banks of the river to view this scene, rendered it the more interesting; as the spectators were brave men, who came from the extremities of the world.

General Orders.

Head-quarters at Stettin, July 10.—The corps of observation of the grand army must return an attack, and advance into Swedish Pomerania.—On the 18th of April an armistice was concluded at Schlatkow, which was to have continued until 10 days should have expired after notice had been given of the intention to resume hostilities. In consequence of some subsequent conferences between the commanding generals, the term of 10 days was extended to 30 days by an additional article, signed the 29th of the same month.—The latter arrangement experienced no kind of difficulties: but his Majesty the King of Sweden appeared in Pomerania, assumed the command of his army, and immediately declared his intention to acknowledge merely the first stipulation of a term of ten days. At the same time the Swedish navy, in spite of the armistice, committed hostilities before Colberg against the corps of French troops and their allies which besieged that place. In this state of affairs, an explanatory correspondence arose between the commanding general, and the King of Sweden proposed a conference to me, in order to put an end to the subsisting differences, which conference was to be held at Schlatkow, in the Swedish territory. Hopes were then entertained, that the opposition his Majesty experienced, arose merely from his wish to conduct the affairs himself, and that the conference proposed might perhaps lead to peaceful overtures, and some permanent arrangement.——On the 4th of June, I accordingly proceeded to Schlatkow, attended by 5 or 6 officers of the staff, and by as many orderly gens d'armes. The aid-de-camps of his Swedish Majesty had declared to me, that the King was at Schlatkow, almost without an escort, attended merely by a retinue by no means numerous.—On my arrival I found the house where the King was, without guards, but in the court a squadron of horse was drawn up in order of battle. Being alone admitted to the Prince, I represented to him the object of the conference, but he interrupted me almost immediately, and declared, that his determination in favour of the term of the first armistice was unalterable, and thus cut off all questions, which were to form the object of the conference. Europe will learn it with indignation, because the laws of nations, and the laws of honour, were violated; he dared to propose to the French general, to one of the first subjects of the Emperor Napoleon, to betray his sovereign and his country; to espouse the cause of the English under the disgraceful banner of a band of deserters, who feel neither for the happiness of their native country, nor share in its glory. Since that conference, the King caused the above hostilities before Colberg to be continued, and others to be continued at the mouth of the Trave. He has drawn from England both money and soldiers; he has collected as many fugitives and deserters as came within his reach, and full of confidence in his force, he gave on the 30th of this month notice, that at the expiration of ten days the armistice would be at an end; he gave that notice at the very moment when he could be informed of the change of dispositions on the part of Russia and Prussia.—The hostilities with Sweden recommence therefore on the 13th of this month. We might begin them sooner, because the king's conduct has been nothing but a series of violations and infringements; but it is a prominent feature in the character of our sovereign to be as great in magnanimity and moderation, as he is through his genius and heroic exploits. Europe will know how to appreciate such conduct, and discern those who wish to prolong the scourge of war.—The French troops will vie with those of the allies in discipline and valour; they will not forget that the Emperor Napoleon has his regards fixed on them, and feel confident that we shall all deserve his approbation by our attachment.—MARSHAL BRUNE.

87th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Konigsberg, July 12.—The Emperors of France and Russia, after 20 days residence at Tilsit, where the Imperial Palaces were in the same street, and at no great distance, took leave of each other with the greatest cordiality, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th. The Journal which contains an account of what passed between them will be very interesting to both nations.—At half

past four, the Emperor Napoleon having received a visit from the King of Prussia, who came to take his leave, set out for Konigsberg, where he arrived at 10 at night. The King of Prussia went to Memel.—Yesterday the Emperor Napoleon inspected the port of Konigsberg, in a boat manned by the imperial guard. To-day his Majesty will review Marshal Soult's corps, and at two o'clock to morrow, he will set out for Dresden.—The number of Russians killed in the battle of Friedland amounts to 17,500, the prisoners to 40,000; 18,000 of whom have already passed through Konigsberg, 7000 remain sick in the hospitals, and the rest have been conducted to Thorn and Warsaw. Orders have been issued to send them home to Russia, without delay; 7000 have already returned again to Konigsberg. Those in France are to be formed into provisional regiments. The Emperor has ordered them to be cloathed and armed.——The ratifications of the treaty of peace between France and Russia were exchanged at Tilsit, on the 9th. The ratification of the treaty of peace between France and Prussia, will be exchanged here this day.——The plenipotentiaries charged with these negociations were, on the part of France, the Prince of Benevento; Princes Kurakin and Labanoff, on the part of Russia; on the part of Prussia, Field Marshal Count Kalkreuth, and the Count de Goltz. —After such events as these, one cannot but smile when the great English expedition is mentioned, and at the new frenzy which animates the King of Sweden. Besides, we may remark that the army of observation, between the Elbe and the Oder, is 70,000 strong, exclusive of the grand army, without including the Spanish divisions, which are now upon the Oder also. It was, therefore, necessary for England to have brought her whole force together, her soldiers, her volunteers, fencibles, &c. in order to have made a diversion of any interest. But when we take into our account, that England, under the present circumstances, has sent 6000 men to Egypt only to be slaughtered by the Arabians, and 7000 men to the Spanish West Indies, we can alone feel sentiments of pity for the extravagant avarice with which that cabinet is tormented.——The peace of Tilsit puts an end to the operations of the army; notwithstanding this, all the Prussian coasts and ports will be shut against the English; and it is probable that the continental blockade will not prove a mere sound.—— The Porte is included in the treaty. The revolution which lately occurred at Constantinople, was an antichristian revolution, which has nothing in common with the policy of Europe.—The Adjutant-Commandant Guilleminot is gone to Bessarabia, where he will communicate to the Grand Vizier the intelligence of the peace, and the liberty given to the Porte to take part in it, as well as of the conditions of the treaty in which the Porte is interested.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.——*Speech of the Lords Commissioners, on Proroguing Parliament, Friday, August 14, 1807.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,—We have it in command from his Majesty to express the satisfaction with which he finds himself enabled to give you that recess which, after the great and diligent exertions which you have made in the dispatch of public business, must at this advanced season of the year be so peculiarly desirable.—His Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct us to return you his thanks for the steady loyalty and attachment to his person and government, and the zealous devotion to the public service which have characterised all your deliberations, and most especially to thank you for the seasonable exertions, which you have enabled him to make for the augmentation of the military force of his kingdom.—— Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His Majesty has commanded us to return you his warmest thanks for the supplies which you have granted with so much cheerfulness for the current year; and when he considers the provision which you have made for those contingent and unforeseen services which the events of the war may render necessary, his Majesty has the great satisfaction of recognising the wisdom wherewith, in a time of extraordinary difficulties, you have anticipated the possible demands which those difficulties may occasion.—My Lords and Gentlemen,—His Majesty commands us to assure you, that he deeply deplores the unfortunate issue of the war upon the Continent. The immense extension of the power and influence of France, and the undisguised determination of the enemy to employ the means and resources of those countries which he possesses or controuls, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of his Majesty's kingdom, undoubtedly present a formidable view of the dangers and difficulties which the country has to encounter. But his Majesty trusts, that the loyal and brave people over whom he reigns are not to be daunted or disheartened. From the recollection of those difficulties under which his people have successfully struggled, and of those dangers which they have happily surmounted, his

Majesty derives the consolation of believing, that the same spirit and perseverance which have hitherto remained unbroken will continue to be exerted with unabated vigour and success.—And while his Majesty commands us to repeat the assurances of his constant readiness to entertain any proposals which may lead to a secure and honourable peace, he commands us at the same time to express his confidence that his parliament and his people will feel with him, the necessity of persevering in those vigorous efforts which alone can give the character of honour to any negotiation, or the prospect of security or permanency to any peace. His Majesty, therefore, trusts that his parliament and his people will always be ready to support him in every measure which may be necessary to defeat the designs of his enemies against the independence of his Majesty's dominions, and to maintain against any undue pretensions, and against any hostile confederacy, those just rights which his Majesty is always desirous to exercise with temper and moderation, but which, as essential to the honour of his Crown and true interests of his people, he is determined never to surrender.—Then a commission for proroguing the parliament was read: after which the lord chancellor prorogued it to the 24th of September.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA. —— *Admiral Berkeley's Order for Searching the American Frigate, the Chesapeak; dated Halifax, Nova Scotia, June* 1, 1807, *and addressed to the respective Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the North American Station.*

By the hon. G C. Berkeley, Vice-Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the River St. Laurence, along the coast of Nova-Scotia, the Islands of St. John, and Cape Breton, the Bay of ——, and at and about the Island of Burmuda, or Summer Islands:—Whereas many seamen, subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and serving in his ships and vessels, as per margin*, while at anchor in the Chesapeak, deserted and entered on board the United States frigate, called the Chesapeak, and openly paraded the streets of Norfolk, in sight of their officers, under the American flag, protected by the magistrates of the town, and the recruiting officer belonging to the abovementioned American frigate, which magistrates and naval officer refused giving them up, although demanded by his Britannic Majesty's consul, as well as the captains of the ships from which the said men had deserted. The captains and commanders of his majesty's ships and vessels under my command, are therefore hereby required and directed, in case of meeting with the American frigate the Chesapeak, at sea, and without the limits of the United States, to shew to the captain of her this order, and to require to search his ship, for the deserters from the abovementioned ships, and to proceed and search for the same; and if a similar demand should be made by the American, he is to be permitted to search for any deserters from their service, according to the customs and usage of civilized nations, on terms of peace and amity with each other. ——G. C. Berkeley.

* Belleisle, Bellona, Triumph, Chichester, Halifax, and Zenobia cutter.

VOLUNTEERS.—*Circular Letter from Lord Hawkesbury, to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, dated Whitehall, 5th Aug.* 1807.

I have the honour to acquaint you, that it has been deemed expedient by his Majesty's government, that such corps of volunteers, infantry and artillery, as have not completed their twenty-six days' exercise for the present year, should have the option of assembling upon permanent pay and duty, under the regulations which were in force in the year 1805 (by which the officers will be entitled to full pay, and the non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates, to one shilling per diem bounty money, for the days during which they may remain so assembled) and subject to the following restrictions.—The period for which these corps will be allowed to remain assembled must not exceed the number of days wanting to complete their twenty-six days drill for the present year, and must, in no case, be less than ten, or more than fourteen days: consequently this permission can be granted to such corps only as shall not have performed more than sixteen days exercise during the present year.—I take this opportunity of acquainting you, that no extra pay will be allowed for inspections, as it is conceived that they may take place on the days of drill, with little if any additional inconvenience to the corps ——I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, (Signed)

HAWKESBURY.

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